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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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13 MARCH 1987

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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REFORMIST LI HONGLIN DISCUSSES TRUTH, SUPPRESSION

Beijing XIN GUANCHA [NEW OBSERVER] in Chinese No 22, 25 Nov 86 pp 1-2

[Article by Li Honglin [2621 3163 2651]: "Truth and the Big Stick"]

[Text] Truth and the big stick are diametrical opposites; yet they always appear face to face.

Truth is a concept. As an accurate reflection of objective existence, it is convincing to people because it conforms with reality. All unbiased people of sound minds are convinced by truth without the aid of a big stick.

However, some people are afraid of truth and have to resort to fallacy. They can hardly convince any people. Since ideological strength alone can neither stifle truth nor uphold fallacy which is not supported by reason, they have to seek aid from the big stick.

A big stick is something material, and its blows can cause head wounds and bleeding. Even though no blow is struck, the swish caused by the waving of a big stick would spell terror.

The idea of using a big stick for suppression is a vestige of barbarism in a civilized age. To be more specific, it is a barbarous phenomenon in civilized society, and this phenomenon can always be found in the history of human civilization.

In the Spring and Autumn period, Cui Shu, an official of Qi Principality, killed Duke Zhuang of Qi, and the historian faithfully recorded the killing as "an act of regicide committed by Cui Shu." This was only a truthful record of a plain fact; but it touched on the most sensitive mind of the treacherous ruler. Cui Shu used the big stick to kill the historian.

Among the well-known instances of big sticks being used against truth in European history is the religious inquisition of the medieval age when violent means were used to suppress Copernicus' theory of the solar system and to force people to accept Ptolemy's geocentric theory. Bruno, the great materialist, was sentenced to die at the stake in Rome for spreading Copernicus' truth.

During the dynasties of Ming and Qing in China, the literary inquisition was even more ruthless. The execution of people and the extermination of clans were common occurrences. In the first year of Emperor Kangxi's reign, Zhuang Tinglong offended the Qing ruler by writing "History of Ming." As a result, the author and his whole clan was exterminated, and even the preface writer, the proofreader, the engraver, the publisher, and the vendor of this book were all put to death.

In modern and contemporary China, the use of big sticks against truth has by no means diminished. Li Dachao [2621 1129 6389], Qu Qiubai [4234 4428 4101], and many martyrs died at the gallows or before the firing squad because of their firm belief in Marxist truth.

Since the People's Republic of China established their own political power, big sticks as a means to support fallacy and suppress truth have become things of the past for the following reasons: First, Marxism is based on truth. It has always counted on truth in convincing people, but never used the big stick to subdue people. Second, from the very day of its birth, Marxism has been the victim of suppression, and has carried on its struggle against the use of big sticks in suppressing truth. After the establishment of the people's own political power, is it reasonable for a "Marxist" big stick to be used to suppress others?

Nevertheless, historical events are complicated and cannot always be neat and tidy. The use of big sticks to bolster "truth" remained for a fairly long time even after the founding of the People's Republic. It is true that along with social progress, the methods of using them have become more civilized, although the basic characteristic of using force to subdue people remains unchanged. At least, it has been given a more civilized name: "repudiation." Thus the repudiation of the movie "Wu Xun's Biography," the repudiation of the study in "Dream of the Red Chamber," the repudiation of Hu Feng's [5170 7364] art theory, the repudiation of Ma Yinchu's [7456 1377 0443] "New Population Theory," the repudiation of Sun Yefang's [1327 0396 2455] economic thoughts, and numerous other repudiations have taken place. All these repudiations were organized under leadership, and the victims were deprived of the right to speak. Facts have proved that instead of elevating the position of Marxism, these repudiations have subjected Marxism to many unjust accusations. The reason is that the so-called "Marxism" used to repudiate people is not truth, but only a big stick with a "Marxist" label. This method has certainly severely damaged the reputation of Marxism.

"Repudiation" was escalated during the "Great Cultural Revolution." It was then called "mass repudiation" and became much more severe. The atrocities of the ancient literary inquisition reappeared in China, all under the "Marxist" banner. In Liaoning Province, Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 3450], an ordinary communist, was the first to challenge this type of authority. As a result, her young life was ended by a heinous bullet. Lest she shout the truth at the execution ground, the executioner had to cut her throat.

Now that we have entered a new historical age, the CPC has reviewed its historical lessons and put an end to the ideology of "taking class struggle as the key link." It is now time to implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." It is true that, because of the force of habit, the big sticks cannot be immediately eliminated. However, it is no longer possible for "repudiation" and "mass repudiation" to be organized under leadership, because this method has been discarded by the CPC Central Committee, and the broad masses have become tired of it. That was why only certain individuals waved the big stick in the past few years. Despite the great energy shown in their performance, the audience was small, and most of the spectators were indifferent.

Understanding history can enhance people's wisdom. If we review the history of relationship between truth and the big stick, we can see that the material power of the big stick is, after all, no match for the spiritual power of truth.

Is it true that spirit can triumph over matter? No, the comparison between them is inappropriate. To triumph over one material power, we need another material power which is even stronger. Similarly, we need a correct theory in order to triumph over a erroneous theory.

The trial of strength between truth and the big stick should proceed in both the spiritual and the material realms. In other words, their struggle has two aspects. In the ideological aspect, the big stick represents, or protects, fallacy. How can fallacy hold its ground in the face of truth? The simple reason is that those using the big stick must deprive those upholding truth of the right to speak. (They only permit the big stick to speak, but forbid any rebuttal from truth.) In the material aspect, truth does not use the pen in its trial of strength with the big stick; it has to carry on its resistance through people. People convinced by truth will take up some even more powerful weapon to keep the big stick in line, and this is how truth can triumph over the big stick.

Therefore, although truth is often suppressed and its defenders are often persecuted, as we can see from certain specific events in specific periods, the final victory belongs to truth. For example, Cui Shu of Qi Principality, who killed several historians in the Spring and Autumn period, finally had to surrender to truth, and permitted the new and fearless historians to continue the writing of the "Act of Regicide Committed by Cui Shu." Again, after being forced to admit his "error" during the inquisition, Galileo Galilei, the Italian astronomer, shouted: "But the earth is still rotating!" Now, all primary school students in the world know that the earth rotates in the orbit around the sun. Even the Vatican in 1980 had to rehabilitate Galilei with the announcement that the verdict of the religious tribunal in Rome more than 300 years ago was wrong. This is certainly a sidesplitting affair. However, doesn't it prove that truth is irresistible?

The "Great Cultural Revolution" had no redeeming quality. Yet the social benefits derived from it in a negative way are tremendous. First, people have learned to hate the big stick. In fact, anything, even truth, that is imposed with the big stick, would be repugnant to people. Of course, it would be even

worse when it is surprisingly fallacious. Second, anything that is suppressed with a big stick would usually attract sympathy and arouse curiosity. If the target of attack is truth, what effect would the suppression produce besides helping the truth to spread more rapidly? If this point is understood, it will be easy to explain why the big stick is being shorn of its prestige gradually.

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DRASTIC CHANGES IN REFORM POLICIES DISCUSSED

People's Fears Noted

Beijing XIN GUANCHA [NEW OBSERVER] in Chinese No 18, 25 Sep 86 p 17

[Article by Hao Cheng [3185 2052]: "Speaking of 'Bestowing a Tung Leaf to a Brother' and 'Fan Jin Passing the Imperial Provincial Examination'"; dated 9 July 1986]

[Text] Not long ago, I attended a meeting in Taiyuan and took the opportunity to visit the Jin Temple. Almost as a rule, I would visit this temple whenever I came to Taiyuan, and this happened to be my third visit. I could not recall whether I visited the Hall of Offering to Tang Shuyu on the previous two occasions. This time, the young female tour guide pointed at the sculpture of Tang Shuyu holding a Tung leaf at the center of the hall and told the story of how this temple came to be built. A fellow tourist told me about the "Defense of Bestowing a Tung Leaf to a Brother" written by Liu Zongyuan, a classical writer and poet of Tang Dynasty, and about his belief that this story, instead of being based on historical facts, was only made up by some people afterward. However, another fellow tourist, showing great interest, said: "We should believe rather than disbelieve it," because this story at least shows that even slave owners and feudal rulers of ancient times kept their promises and would not, time and again, issue an order in the morning and change it in the afternoon, with no intention of honoring their words. This comrade then gave a lengthy discourse and even quoted a fairly popular folk rhyme:

"The communist party, like the sun, sheds light wherever it goes;  
Communist party policies, also like the sun, are different on  
the first and the 15th day every month."

This is really a thought-provoking issue which cannot be simply laughed off. Furthermore, it reasonably calls for an analysis instead of a generalized summary. In my opinion, the so-called "mass fear of frequent policy changes" would never mean opposition of the reform from the majority of people; nor would it mean that policies must remain unchanged. It is only natural that policies must be changed during reforms. Since reforms are conducted in the interests of most people, there is no reason why the people do not support it. The mass fear of frequent policy changes is not the fear of routine changes, but the fear of a retrogression. In other words, they fear a setback for the reform, so that everything would return to the old rut.

The people's worry, I should say, is not without basis. In recent years, have we not seen or heard enough of the predicaments of many reformers? As a proverb says, exposed birds are usually shot at. Those who attempt nothing and accomplish nothing are usually safe and sound, and may even enjoy good fortunes in their political career, while those who are dedicated to the reform and have acted boldly have the predicament of "causing complaints from below and being placed under surveillance from above." Some of them even had the misfortune of being "honored guests yesterday and prisoners today," after being dismissed and persecuted. (Of course, some of them might have taken advantage of the reform for private gains, and were punished for their violation of law and discipline.) I remember Stalin's remarks that some people would fall off the car at some important turning point in the revolution. He was referring to the conservatives who could not keep pace with the march of time and had to lag behind. The people we talked about, however, were the exact opposites. They fell off the car because of their progressive ideas and dedication to reform. This sound may sound absurd; but the recent appeals and admonitions to "protect reformers" in the press clearly indicate that such problems not only actually exist, but also have an important bearing on the outcome of the reform.

When a car running at a high speed makes a sharp turn, or when the brake is applied suddenly, some people would be thrown off the car or even killed. This may be unavoidable! However, it is certainly possible to take the necessary precaution by avoiding "issuing orders in the morning to be changed in the afternoon" or refraining from making sharp turns at a high speed. We mentioned earlier those who were "honored guests yesterday and prisoners today." Not long ago, there were also those who were "prisoners yesterday and honored guests today." Normally, this is good for the people concerned; but some of them have lost their lives for the same reason because of the "disasters on the heels of good fortunes." On our way to Jin Temple that day, our fellow tourists in the car chatted about some incidents after the "cultural revolution" and the downfall of the "gang of four." Many old comrades, who had been victims of wanton persecution, were suddenly rehabilitated. They recovered their reputation and were given jobs. Some of them were over-joyed, but their over-excitement soon ended in tragedy. They suddenly fell sick and died. Among these people were economist Di Chaobai [3695 6389 4101], and historian He Ganzhi [0194 1626 0037]. They were conducting rural social surveys in their controlled employment when, to their surprise, they were invited by the first secretary of the provincial party committee to a meeting and a banquet. Then almost immediately, they were sent back to Beijing to resume their former occupations. How can they help but go wild with joy? The misfortune was that they became ill and died because of over-excitement. Some people thought that if some methodical measures were taken to break the news gradually, such disasters might have been averted. Although this is certainly the view of an arm-chair critic, it is nevertheless based on experiences. Some comrade said that in the old society, the rules of famine relief required that prepared liquid food be poured on the surface of a huge table, to be licked by the hungry people. This was the way to save these people from dying of over-eating after their long suffering from hunger. For human beings, over-excitement may also lead to nervous breakdown. The story of "Fan Jin passing the imperial provincial examination" in "The Scholars" may be cited as an example.

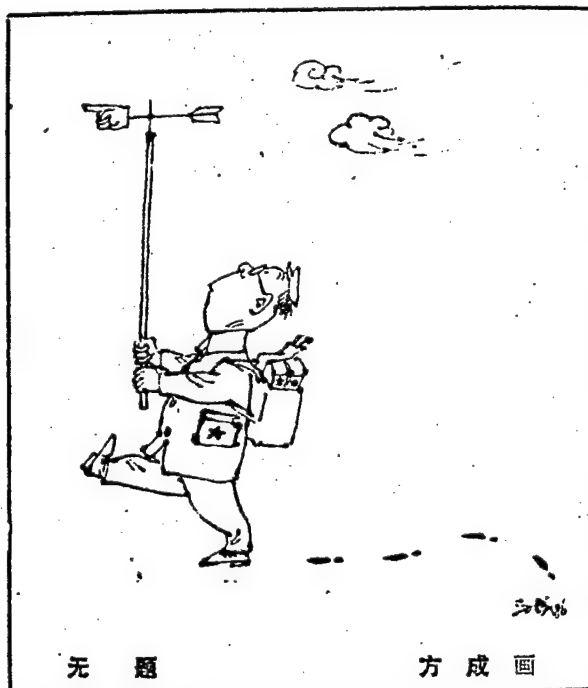
We must be firm and steady in all reforms. Hesitation in making any move, beating a retreat during an advance, making frequent changes--such as changes made in the afternoon of orders issued in the morning--and making sharp turns or drastic changes may not be totally avoided. However, it would be better to have them minimized.

### Cartoon Views Political Change

Beijing XIN GUANCHA [NEW OBSERVER] in Chinese No 18, 25 Sep 86 p 17

[Cartoon by Fang Cheng [2455 2052]: "Untitled"]

[Cartoon]



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## SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION, REFORM DISCUSSED

Beijing XIN GUANCHA [NEW OBSERVER] in Chinese No 20, 25 Oct 86 pp 2-3

[Article by Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052]: "Spirit Civilization Versus Materialism, Reform, and Opening to the Outside World"]

[Text] The "Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology" adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee on the eve of the National Day, is an important programmatic document for the party. We must highly regard, diligently study, thoroughly understand, and conscientiously implement it in actual work. Two points in the "Resolution" have most deeply impressed me:

First, as pointed out in the "Resolution," the overall scheme of China's socialist modernization is to "take economic development as the key link." In developing spiritual civilization, we should "always keep national construction in the forefront of our thoughts." Economies are the foundation of all civilizations, and the development of spiritual civilization must be predicated on material production. This is the basic tenet of Marxist historical materialism. Speaking of the great theory of historical materialism founded by Marx, Engels said: "As Darwin discovered the law of evolution in nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history: that human beings must first of all eat, drink, shelter and clothe themselves before they can turn their attention to politics, science, art and religion; therefore the production of immediate material means of life and consequently the given stage of economic development of a people or of a period forms the basis on which State institutions, legal principles, art and even religious ideas of the people in question have developed and out of which they must be explained, instead of exactly the contrary, as was previously attempted." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, p 57). In ancient China, there was also the proverb that "the sense of glory and humiliation comes with sufficient food and clothing, while proprieties come from a full granary." (Guanzi) In Korea, people generally say: "People are kind-hearted when their rice barrel is full." All these expressions conform with the plain thoughts of historical materialism. The criterion for evaluating all our work, including the development of spiritual civilization, is the degree of usefulness to the development of productive forces. Marx said long ago: "The development of productive forces...is an absolutely necessary practical premise, because without it, want is merely made general, and with destitution, the struggle for necessities and all the old filthy business would necessarily be reproduced." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1,

p 35). The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee decided to shift the focus of the work of the party and the state to economic construction, to review and draw lessons from the experiences since the 8th CPC Congress, and thus to correct past "leftist" mistakes of "taking class struggle as the key link," slighting educational, scientific, and cultural endeavors, and exaggerating the importance of ideological struggle. Today, while stepping up the development of spiritual civilization, we must take care to remember the lessons we learned from the past, note the idealistic fallacies concocted by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and the other counterrevolutionary swindlers, and be sure that these fallacies will not make their comeback in a new guise to jeopardize our socialist cause. For example, they opposed the so-called "theory that productive forces decide everything," advocated "socialism" of universal poverty, spread the nonsense that "we'd rather have socialist grass than capitalist seedlings," and "we should have a political instead of an economic accounting," and clamored for the dropping of "spiritual atomic bombs." Their perverse behavior not only brought our country to the verge of economic collapse, but also caused a major retrogression of our spiritual civilization. We can never forget this important lesson. Some people believe that along with the implementation of the policy of "opening to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy," our material civilization has improved, while our spiritual civilization has deteriorated. They also believe that the purpose of strengthening spiritual civilization today is to correct this "bias." Aren't these remarks similar to what we have heard about "the satellite soaring into the sky and the red flag plummeting to the ground" and "poverty leads to revolution while wealth breeds revisionism"?

Second, the "Resolution" clearly tells us that as a basic, unalterable state policy, opening to the outside world applies to our efforts to achieve spiritual as well as material civilization. Our socialist spiritual civilization must promote all-around reform and opening to the outside world. Therefore, we should no longer listen to some people's erroneous view that opening to the outside applies to our efforts to achieve only material, but not spiritual civilization. Under the pretext of preserving the so-called "purity of communism" and resisting the "spiritual pollution" from outside, they treat many new theories and new achievements of mankind as fallacies and "sugar-coated bullets" which must be resisted by all means. Whenever these people see or hear anything new introduced from foreign countries, they would be scared out of their wits as though they saw "monsters" or wild beasts. Their only desire is to launch some movement, openly or in effect, to "oppose bourgeois liberalization" and "resist spiritual pollution" as a pretext for a large-scale victimization. This time, the plenary session of the Central Committee has given a clear specific definition of "bourgeois liberalization" in the "Resolution," pointing out that "Bourgeois liberalization means negating the socialist in favor of the capitalist system." This definition will deprive them of the means to strengthen their position by interpreting things at will. Hopefully, the spectacle of indiscriminately applying labels "like a monk chanting scriptures with a lopsided mouth" will not reappear. This deserves celebration.

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YU GUANGYUAN DISCUSSES REFORM, SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Beijing XIN GUANCHA [NEW OBSERVER] in Chinese No 20, 25 Oct 86 pp 1-2

[Article by Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 1073]: "Reform and Spiritual Civilization"; dated 3 September 1986]

[Text] The relationship between reform and spiritual civilization is one of the main features of the "Resolution," a programmatic document of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. The wording of this document concerning this relationship is as follows:

1. In the preamble, it says: This document was drawn up on the basis of "the requirements of China's all-around reform..."
2. The document pointed out: "The overall scheme of China's socialist modernization is as follows: 'Taking economic development as the key link, we are to continue to reform our economic and political structures and at the same time speed up the country's cultural and ideological progress, making sure that these aspects of our work are coordinated and promote each other.'"
3. Thanks to our success in restoring order in all fields, launching all-around reform and achieving material progress since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, the socialist spiritual civilization has undergone great developments, as summed up in the document.
4. In many respects, our work in spiritual civilization is not adapted to the needs of socialist modernization.
5. "Reform means the self-improvement and development perfection of the socialist system. The progress of the reform in all areas reflects the tremendous changes that have taken place in China in the past few years. Our policies of launching all-around reform and opening to the rest of the world have infused our socialist cause with great vitality and have significantly promoted socialist spiritual civilization."
6. The work of socialist spiritual civilization "must be capable of promoting the all-around reform and the opening to the outside of the world." The two "musts," namely, "it must push forward the socialist modernization" and "must uphold the four cardinal principles," are stipulated as the basic guiding principle in the work of spiritual civilization" in China.

What I have quoted here directly from the "Resolution" are the words "reform" in the context of its relationship to spiritual civilization. If we look at the contents of the whole document, we will find many more references to this relationship. We may even say that the entire "Resolution" is permeated with the spirit of spiritual civilization serving the reform. The implications of the "Resolution" are very clear and important. Some of them apparently refer to the recent statements and behaviors of some cadres in the society to who believed that the work of spirit civilization can proceed regardless of the reform. These implications are undoubtedly very significant in giving a better understanding of the relationship between reform and spiritual civilization and in achieving a unity of thoughts.

Since the "Resolution" has made these points very clear, any explanation attempted in this short article would be superfluous. Furthermore, since the "Resolution" is only an outline and a proposition concerning the guiding principle for China's socialist spiritual civilization, there is the need not only for "the party organizations in all departments, localities and institutions to apply these principles in light of their own specific conditions and work out concrete measures to be taken accordingly," but also for them to further study and enlighten themselves theoretically according to the Resolution's requirements.

After studying the Resolution, I want to make two points concerning the relationship between reform and spiritual civilization: first, reform needs spiritual civilization; and second, spiritual civilization should serve the reform.

Why is spiritual reform necessary to reform? The reasons are essentially as follows:

First, the need for reform in socialist construction is realized from our review of the historical experiences in China's socialist construction, and from our study of the historical experiences of other socialist countries and the history of the whole world. This realization means a big step forward in socialist civilization.

Second, in conducting our socialist structural reform, we must study the new developments and new problems in the period of socialist construction. For scientific Marxism, which is required for socialist construction, we must also study various disciplines related the reform, such as Marxist political economy, Marxist political science, Marxist social sciences and so forth. We must carefully develop these disciplines and master the objective laws discovered in them before we can correctly guide China's reform and help it to proceed smoothly.

Third, in conducting socialist structural reform, we must master the general science and technology suitable for both capitalism and socialism. For example, in studying the plans and specific measures for the reform, we must conducts various types of calculation. It will be necessary for us to know about statistics and mathematics required in the study of reform problems.

What I have said here is only about science as one aspect of spiritual civilization. Next, we should give people a better understanding of the reform through education including the use of various artistic means. Theoretically, we must make it clear that doing a good job for China's reform, giving a strong impetus to the socialist cause, accelerating the development of China's modernization, and building the type of socialism with Chinese characteristics are the common ideal of all Chinese people. In ethical education, we must also understand that promoting the reform, the productive forces, and social progress means "educating the people in ethics" "under the present historical conditions." Since promoting reform is an ethical act, interfering with it is certainly not such an act. In the education of democracy, law, and discipline, we must also form and strengthen the concept of political and legal protection for the reform.

It is thus quite obvious that reform needs spiritual civilization. This need is so important and urgent that it would never be an exaggeration to say that the reform will meet with serious difficulties and its progress will be retarded, if we fail to strengthen our work of spiritual civilization.

In March this year, the XIN GUANCHANG Publishing House and the editorial departments of QIYE YANJIU and SHOU DU XINXI jointly held a "Let Us Encourage and Hail the Reform" friendship meeting. In my brief speech made on that occasion, I mentioned three "ifs" and one "then," meaning that "if we do not overcome the many difficulties now encountered in the reform; if we do not correct the ideas which are developing fairly quickly to interfere with the reform; and if we do not take really effective measures for this purpose, then, in your present situation, 'attaching primary importance to the reform' as repeatedly stressed by CPC Central Committee will become empty talk." All these three "ifs" concerned the role of spiritual civilization.

Reform needs spiritual civilization in still another respect: the service of spiritual civilization. Service is what it needs. In this respect, I do not wish to give the same elaboration in writing from the standpoint of "service." If such writing is necessary, it should be more specific about the way to provide this service. Let us all write about it!

9411  
CSO:4005/346

THEORETICIAN CRITICIZES SOVIET MODEL

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 10 Oct 86 p 5

[Text] Guangzhou--The other day in Hong Kong, famous scholar Huan Xiang [1370 6763] incisively pointed out: "One basic reason affecting China's modernization has been the transplantation of the Soviet model. We seldom discussed the matter in the past, but now it is necessary to recognize fully its harmfulness and thoroughly clarify it."

He felt that, looking at the development of China's culture from the historical angle, we have to consider four important factors: 1) China's feudal system of several thousand years; 2) the semi-feudal and semi-colonial control of 140 or 150 years; 3) the Soviet model followed in China for decades; and 4) the destructive influence of the 10-year Cultural Revolution.

He said: There was much discussion of feudalism and the Cultural Revolution in the past, but an inadequate analysis of the harmfulness of the transplantation of the Soviet model. While it has not been long since it was transplanted to China, it is closely linked with the vestiges of feudalism and has produced a detrimental influence and affected people's thinking, ideology, and many cultural concepts.

He clearly pointed out that the problems with the Soviet model are the overestimation of the maturity of the socialist system, severance from the reality of the development of productive forces, and the hollow preachings of production relations and socialism.

He said: Russia failed to familiarize itself properly with capitalism, and the development of its capitalism lagged far behind the West. Unaccustomed to the role of economic laws, it habitually handles economic issues by administrative means. Meanwhile, though granting relatively favorable treatment to intellectuals in the field of military industry, it has no respect for human rights, equality, freedom, and knowledge.

He declared: China not only accepted the Soviet model, but the scorn for intellectuals during the Cultural Revolution was even worse than in Russia. We must mainly blame ourselves; Russia has no responsibility. The CPC was successful in leading the revolution, but its consideration of the issue of building the nation was immature. When comparing China with Russia today, we

have had the thorough revelation and great sadness of the Cultural Revolution. Thus, we are determined to prevent a repetition of the tragedy of the Cultural Revolution and eradicate its evils. The Soviet Union has not undergone this painful course. Therefore, China's reforms will possibly be more thorough and realistic.

He cautioned: "Reforms of culture are not easily accomplished." He said: In regard to the shackles placed on us by history and the heavy burdens holding us back, we must not treat them casually, nor must we adopt the method of major surgery. Today we can only pursue theoretical explorations on the one hand and rely on practical demonstrations on the other, and prove through practice the accuracy of the orientation of reforms. The prevailing task today is economic reform, while cultural reform must also be pursued along with it. Economic reform leads to changes in people's ideology and constitutes an important factor propelling cultural progress, while cultural reform also promotes economic reform, opening the path for it and removing the thistles and thorns along the way. They are mutually complementary.

6080/13104  
CSO: 4005/140



INTEGRATION OF INTELLECTUALS, WORKERS, PEASANTS DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 4 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by Yan Shen [0917 3234]: "The Only Way to Becoming Useful and Starting a Career"]

[Text] The experience gained by the Chinese intellectuals of older generations and the personal experience gained by today's young intellectuals in the course of growth both prove that in the growth of talented people, one must solve the fundamental question of what road to follow. Integrating with reality and the masses of workers and peasants is the only way for intellectuals to become useful and start a career. It is also an extremely broad road. Whoever comes to realize this point and chooses this road first will mature faster than others.

In recent years, the social practice of respecting knowledge and talent has been gradually established, seeking knowledge and longing to become useful is becoming the main stream of the ideology of today's youth, and the overall situation in the national implementation of intellectual policies has been fairly good. However, some defects also exist in this work. One of them is the lack of attention to the issue of the road of growth concerning young intellectuals. The tendency of ignoring practice exists extensively in schools and households and in social education for youngsters. Many college students and graduate students go from their home to their school and from one book to another, have very little social contact, seldom engage in manual labor and are very indifferent about the issues of masses and labor, thereby resulting in many problems. For instance, they lack a comprehensive and clear understanding of the national situation and fail to realize the hardships of actual work. They think too highly of themselves, are fastidious but incompetent, and are reluctant to work, after their graduation, at grassroots units or places where living conditions are poor. Some students even have an inexplicable fear about social life, wishing that they can stay as far away as possible. All these problems resulting from isolation from reality and the masses cannot really be solved by locking ourselves inside a school and holding a theoretical discussion. In the past few years, production practice, military training, social inspection, work-study program, social service, and other practical activities carried out among students have achieved outstanding results and some confusing and controversial issues in books have found correct answers in practice. Now more and more students begin to adopt



a new understanding of themselves and reconsider the road for them to become useful. They are no longer content with the idea that going to school is the only way to seek knowledge and development. They show great enthusiasm for taking part in social and practical activities. How to give guidance in accordance with circumstances, vigorously strengthen links between universities and society and between college students and the masses of workers and peasants, and guide young students in following a correct road of growth is not only an important measure for improving the ideological and political education of schools but also a fundamental content of the reform of entire education work.

Some people ask: If intellectuals are mental laborers and a part of the working class, why is it necessary to advocate the integration of intellectuals with reality and the masses of workers and peasants? Some people even worry that this might be another change of party's intellectual policies. Today, emphasizing again the issue of the road of growth concerning young intellectuals is by no means an expedient measure adopted in view of a certain time or matter, nor is it a repetition of an old saying. Instead, it is a strategic principle adopted in accordance with the demands set by the new period on the intellectuals of new generation after summing up both positive and negative experiences gained over many years of growth of Chinese intellectuals. It is by no means the continuation of the "re-education" of intellectuals conducted under the influence of "leftist" guiding ideology. Instead, it is a positive, fact-seeking principle set forth in light of the needs of the time, four modernizations, and intellectuals in pursuing growth. If intellectuals want to make greater achievements, they must combine Marxist theories and cultural and scientific knowledge they learned with the reality of state reform and construction and with the rich practice of the masses to create a new life. It is not right for one to be divorced from reality and make give indiscreet remarks and criticisms. Now that the society is in need for talented people and respects talented people, it is all the more necessary for intellectuals to discipline and improve themselves and choose a correct road of growth for themselves; and face their own shortcomings, learn from the masses, serve the people, pay no attention to personal fame and gain, make more contributions, and use real actions to provide a basis for the respect of others.

Undoubtedly, students need to spend more time and energy on learning knowledge provided by books in order to lay a wider, thicker, and more solid theoretical foundation. But, if a person learned all his knowledge from books but not from practice, his knowledge would be incomplete and he could not be considered as a person of real ability and learning. Because knowledge we learned from books is the summary of predecessors' experiences, it cannot become our own knowledge until we apply and test it in our personal practice. Only after further development of such knowledge can we turn ourselves from "half an intellectual" into a complete intellectual. Society respects knowledge because practice needs it and people study in order to use knowledge. The great practice of socialist modernization has provided a whole wide world for intellectuals to display their intelligence and wisdom as well as an endless resource for them to enrich and develop their knowledge and talents. All responsible and ambitious intellectuals should listen closely to the call of practice, take the test of practice, make good use of their

knowledge to study and solve practical problems arising in the reform, the open-door policy, and construction, and do a good job in summing up experiences they gained in practice and raising them to the level of theory.

Workers, peasants, and intellectuals are the basic members of the three parts of society in China. They are equal in politics, their basic interests are identical, and the unity and cooperation of the people of the three parts is the basic force for realizing the four modernizations and revitalizing the Chinese nation. Any viewpoints and practices that discriminate against and reject intellectuals or despise and belittle the masses of workers and peasants would undermine socialist undertakings and be forbidden by our socialist system. However, today the difference between manual and mental labor still exists in our society and special social and historical conditions have made workers, peasants, and intellectuals develop their own strong points and shortcomings. The integration of intellectuals with the masses of workers and peasants is an objective demand of coordinated social development. This kind of "integration" is not a clear-cut relation between educators and those to be educated or between reformers and those to be reformed. The process of integration is nothing but a process in which intellectuals and the masses of workers and peasants try to understand each other, learn from each other and use other's strong points to make up their own deficiencies. It is also a process of uniting and fighting for common ideals.

Young intellectuals who are still growing should also clearly realize that recognizing intellectuals as a part of the working class does not mean that intellectuals can spontaneously form a communist world outlook and automatically acquire the essential characteristics of the working class. Since intellectuals have a higher level of scientific and cultural knowledge, they can easily understand in theory the scientific nature of the communist world outlook, but a communist world outlook cannot be firmly established without going through prolonged practice among the masses. Workers and peasants account for over 90 percent of all laborers in China. It will be very difficult for any intellectual who despises and divorces himself from the masses of workers and peasants to play his role properly and he is bound to be corrected by society. The broad masses of workers and peasants work all year round on the first front of construction, engaging in arduous, creative manual labor. Especially industrial workers, who can receive concentrated training in organization, discipline, and collective spirit, have many good qualities which cannot be found in many intellectuals. During the course of identifying themselves with the masses of workers and peasants, intellectuals certainly can absorb rich spiritual nutrition and extend the realm of their ideology to yet another new level. Engels once zealously hoped that college students could give birth to a "proletarian mental working class" which could stand side by side in the same rank of brother workers engaging in manual labor and play a great role in revolution. Today, this hope of Engels is becoming a reality in our country.

12302

CSO: 4005/239

DENG XIAOPING'S CONTRIBUTION TO LEADERSHIP SYSTEM THEORY

Chengdu MAO ZEDONG SIXIANG YANJIU [STUDIES IN MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT] in Chinese No 4, 86 pp 29-32, 25

[Article by Jiang Zaizhe [5592 0961 0772]: "Deng Xiaoping Enriches and Advances the Thought on Leadership System"]

[Text] Building socialism with Chinese characteristics is a great and daunting historic mission. A very urgent issue facing the mission is to reform the old, irrational leadership system and cadre system. Based on new historical experience, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has set about correcting a series of failings in our leadership system in the past, thereby enriching and furthering Marxist thinking on this matter. The reforms can be summarized as follows:

1. Further Enrich and Advance the Thought on Combining Collective Leadership and Individual Responsibility.

In the history of the international communist movement, democratic leadership was practiced as early as the days of the Paris Commune. To meet the need of the nations at the time to create proletarian parties, Engels raised the issue of democracy explicitly when the First International was created. He said, "The organization itself can be fully democratic. Its various committees can be established through election and be abolished at any time." This alone should block the path of any fanatical conspirators bent on dictatorship." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," chapter 4 p 196) Based on the new experience of the Soviet Bolshevik Party, Lenin elaborated Marxist thinking on the organization of a leadership system by advancing some principles on how to institute and practice democratic centralism within the party. As early as 1906, he noted in his "Report on the United Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party," "There still remains one crucial mission: truly realize the principle of democratic centralism within party organs. We must work tenaciously to turn grassroots organizations into the basic cells of the party organization in fact as well as in name and ensure that all organs at the upper levels are elected, submit reports on their work, and can be replaced." Lenin then proceeded to discuss combining collective leadership with individual responsibility, saying, "We need committees to deliberate certain basic issues and an individual responsibility and leadership system to avoid procrastination and buck-passing." ("Collected Works of Lenin," chapter

30 p 213) Mao Zedong once said that neither collective leadership nor individual responsibility should be emphasized at the expense of the other.

With the thought of Lenin and Mao Zedong as his basis and in light of the needs of the new historical practice, Comrade Deng Xiaoping presented the combination of collective leadership and individual responsibility as an institution. He said, "Party committees at all levels should genuinely combine collective leadership and individual responsibility. Issues requiring collective deliberation and decision should be clearly specified. In decision making, the minority should be subordinate to the majority. One man, one vote. Each party secretary can cast only one vote. The first secretary should not have the final say on things. After a collective decision has been made, people should go about the work separately and be held responsible for his part of the job. There must be no buck-passing: Whoever neglects his duty should be held accountable. Even collective leadership needs a head: the first secretary of a party committee should be the one with primary responsibility for day-to-day work, while division of labor with individual responsibility should be emphasized among other members on the committee. We should encourage leading cadres to have the courage to take responsibility. This is different from and must not be confused with changing the personal dictatorship system." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 300. Other quotations below are from the same work.) It is clear from this discussion that Comrade Deng Xiaoping not only points up a practical way to combine collective leadership with individual responsibility, but also explains the relationship of dialectical unity between collective leadership and division of labor with individual responsibility, and demarcates clearly between collective leadership and personal dictatorship. He also sets forth the scientific division of responsibility between members of a group and the measures to ensure such division. Thus does Comrade Deng Xiaoping enrich and advance Lenin's thinking concerning the combination of collective leadership and division of labor with individual responsibility in the new era.

Based on the requirements of reforming the leadership system, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed that we establish and perfect work responsibility, assessment, and supervision systems for cadres. He attaches a good deal of significance to the establishment of a cadre responsibility system, which to him is a guarantee against bureaucratism. He says, "As far as the management system goes, a special concern today is to strengthen the responsibility system." (p 140) He also suggests that to make sure the system of individual responsibility really works as intended, we must straighten out the relations between powers, responsibilities, and interests, and work out such matters as cadre assessment and supervision. There should be surveillance by the masses to let the people and party members supervise cadres.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping wasted no time in zeroing in on a key issue in the reform of the nation's leadership system in the new era, namely the fusion of party and government, and the replacement of government by the party. He says, "Let's go to work to end the fusion of party and government and the replacement of government by the party. By giving up their concurrent positions in the government, some of the top leading comrades on the Central Committee can concentrate their energies on running the party and managing the party line, principles, and policies. This will help strengthen and improve

unified leadership at the center and help governments at all levels establish an effective and powerful working system from top to bottom and satisfactorily discharge responsibilities within their jurisdiction." (p 280) In the past, "under the slogan calling for the strengthening of the party's unified leadership, all power was improperly centralized in the party committee without analysis. The power of the party committee, in turn, was totally centralized in the hands of a few secretaries, particularly the first secretary." This over-centralization of power is a failure in China's leadership and cadre systems. Here he not only raises the need to resolve the fusion of party and government and the replacement of the government by the party, but also clearly points out their root causes and hazards and delineates the respective jurisdictions of the party and government after functional separation. Lenin too at one point addressed the necessity for a division of labor between government and party, but he did not explain the dangers of the party replacing government as clearly as Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Nor did he delimit the respective functions and powers of government and the party clearly and in detail. He only said, "We must clearly delimit the functions and powers of the party (including the Central Committee) and the Soviet government." ("Collected Works of Lenin," chapter 33 p 221) Clearly Comrade Deng Xiaoping has more profound ideas than Lenin about the functional separation between party and government.

## 2. Reform and Improve the Leadership System according to the New Historical Experience, and Establish a Sound Leadership Structure

Owing to historical and practical limitations, Marx and Lenin did not and could not delve into the reform and management of leadership systems in a meaningful way. Lenin once raised the matter vaguely, saying, "The more firmly we insist on a powerful government and advocate personal dictatorship to carry out a number of purely executive functions in certain areas of our work, the more compelling the need for a variety of supervisory methods, from bottom to top, to put an end to anything that may possibly poison the Soviet regime, and repeatedly and tirelessly eradicate the poisonous weed of bureaucratism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," chapter 27, p 253) Mao Zedong too saw the necessity of improving the leadership system, but failed to solve the problem satisfactorily.

A major strand of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thought on leadership is to reform and improve the leadership system. Leadership and organization systems are basic, all-embracing, stable, and long-term matters. He points out that a good system can stop a bad person from running amuck as he pleases, while a bad system can prevent a good person from doing as much good as he can. Comrade Deng Xiaoping makes it clear that we must begin by tackling institutions if bureaucratism is to be stamped out. Not only does he fully analyze the historical, economic, political, cultural, and social factors behind bureaucratism at all levels of China's leadership, but he also highlights the need to stop it at its source by changing the leadership system. Comrade Deng Xiaoping believes that owing to longstanding feudal influences, we followed a highly centralized management system for years in the past and lacked rigorous administrative laws and regulations from top to bottom. Herein lie the roots of bureaucratism. He points out, "Major failures in the leadership systems of the party and the government are



bureaucratism, over-centralization, patriarchal ways, cadre life-tenure system, and myriad forms of privilege." "Bureaucratism today resembles in some ways bureaucratism of the past, but it also has its special characteristics, which distinguish it from both bureaucratism in old China and bureaucratism in capitalist nations. It is closely related to our long-held notion that socialism and planning require a high degree of centralized control over the economy, politics, culture, and society... We can call this a general root cause of the special kind of bureaucratism we have today. Another root cause is that party and government organs as well as all kinds of enterprises and functional leading organizations traditionally lack strict administrative laws and regulations from top to bottom. Also lacking are a system of individual responsibility and clear regulations delineating the functional limits of each organization, each person... Therefore, these systems must be changed fundamentally. Of course bureaucratism also has its ideological aspect. But if we do not deal with the institutional side, the ideological aspect will not be solved either." (pp 287-307) This discussion pinpoints the root causes and crucial aspects of bureaucratism. In retrospect, our several anti-bureaucratism movements in the past were largely ineffective precisely because we failed to reform the underlying leadership system. Instead, what we usually did was to oppose bureaucratism with bureaucratic methods, a fundamental reason why the movements were often fruitless. This is a common mistake in other socialist nations as well as China. Comrade Deng Xiaoping set about reforming and perfecting the nation's leadership system by putting an end to bureaucratism in a basic manner. This has a definite practical significance for political construction in various socialist nations and represents a new experiment in the history of the international communist movement.

The key to systematic all-around reform is leadership system reform. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out, "Reforming and perfecting the party's and government's leadership system holds the key to realizing the mission." (pp 301-302) He further points up a direction for changing the leadership system and provides other specifics, noting, "The main thing is to perfect the systems whereby cadres are selected, admitted by examination, appointed and dismissed, assessed, censured, and rotated. Clear and proper regulations should be drawn up on the terms of office, resignation, and retirement of different categories of cadres at different levels (including those who are elected, appointed, or hired,) depending on the circumstances. No leading cadre is to stay in office forever." (p 291)

By conscientiously reviewing the experience of and lessons from China's socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has gradually put together a set of scientific standards for selecting the next generation of leaders: "Select young, educated, and professional cadres while adhering firmly and unwaveringly to the socialist road." To set up a rational leadership structure, he not only came up with the "four transformations" standards governing cadre selection, but also began to groom successors by tackling basic cadre systems. He emphasized at a symposium in 1981 convened by the Central Committee for party committee secretaries at the provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional levels, "The promotion of young and middle-aged cadres is a strategic matter that will decide our destiny." He also said that the contingent of cadres must keep the echelon structure and called for

long-term planning in the selection of successors, which is a great strategic mission. Judging from past experience and the demands of the tasks in the new era, in training successors we must not select only a few cadres but a batch, a crop; leading cadres in both party and government organs at all levels must promote a host of people. Leadership in functional departments inside party and government organs at all levels, including enterprises, institutions, and military units, must also be replenished with young and middle-aged cadres. He attaches immense strategic significance to the selection and promotion of some members of the third echelon to gradually beef up leadership at all levels. Moreover, he has put forward the famous "ladder theory" concerning the training of the third echelon. He says, "Once a good young successor is discovered, we must promote him up the ladder, one step at a time, with each faster than the previous move. This is a good training method, a real way to cherish cadres (p 33) The "ladder theory" was advanced after reviewing the lesson learned from the mistaken "rocket" style of cadre promotion and has been shown by experience to be a good way to train young cadres.

To achieve the rationalization of the leadership structure at all levels as soon as possible, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has emphasized that all functional organizations, including party committees, be headed by people with professional expertise. This measure is a major topic posed by the continuous objective progress of the socialist enterprise in China as well as a powerful move to bring about the rationalization of the leadership structure in accordance with the "four-transformation" standards.

### 3. Enrich and Advance the Thought on Administrative Streamlining

Lenin had put forward the idea of administrative streamlining. He wrote, "We should ruthlessly throw out redundant officials, cut back on staff, and abolish positions filled by Communist Party members who do not study management in earnest." ("Collected Works of Lenin," chapter 35 p 545) During the war of resistance against Japan, Mao Zedong proposed administrative streamlining as a major policy in order to adapt to the needs of the war properly. Later, in a letter to Deng Xiaoping on 22 June 1961, he described how over-staffing could be eliminated through personnel reduction. But this problem had never been addressed in practice and all levels of party, government, and military organizations remained bloated and over-staffed for years. Already this state of affairs has proved highly incompatible with the four modernizations in the new era. It has become intolerable and must be changed. There is no other way.

Moving promptly to satisfy the objective and historical requirements of China's four modernizations, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has inherited and furthered Lenin's and Mao Zedong's ideas on administrative streamlining and put himself at the head of a thoroughgoing revolution to streamline administration. First of all, he analyzed in an in-depth way conditions in existing organizations seriously blocking the four modernizations and put forward administrative streamlining as a major revolution. To him, organizational bloating, duplication, over-staffing, and blurred jurisdictional limits will not only lead to bureaucratism, but will also tie the hands of the upcoming generation of competent people. Untreated, these problems will cause us no end of trouble in the future and may even lead to the demise of the party and the

subjugation of the nation. Comrade Deng Xiaoping warns, "If we do not conduct the revolution of administrative streamlining and let elderly and sick people stand in the way of young, energetic, and capable people, not only will the four modernizations be doomed, but even the party will perish, along with the nation." (pp 351-352). His profound analysis looks at the numerous grave defects in organizations in the past and also anticipates insightfully the tremendous resistance administrative streamlining is bound to run into. That is why it is a far-reaching revolution. Mao Zedong merely regarded administrative streamlining as an important policy. In comparison, what Comrade Deng Xiaoping has done is more profound, more in tune with realities, and more conducive to solving problems.

Then too Comrade Deng Xiaoping explains the nature of the revolution of administrative streamlining. He considers it a revolution, not one against people, of course, but one against institutions. (pp 351-352) We do not go in for administrative streamlining for the sake of administrative streamlining, but to improve the overall functioning of the nation's leadership systems. Administrative streamlining aims at getting rid of unnecessary leadership levels, organizations, and personnel that are impeding the four modernizations. To meet the requirements of the great cause of the four modernizations and enhance the effectiveness of the entire national leadership structure, we must expand and retrench as the situation requires.

Moreover, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has shown amazing courage and firm resolve. Boldness and resolve are necessary to overcome the massive resistance from all quarters to the far-reaching revolution of administrative streamlining, which affects many vested interests and involves many issues. For all this Comrade Deng Xiaoping was fully prepared ideologically. He says, "We must be confident we can win. There is just no other choice. We must not waver, compromise, or give up midway. We must be firm and unswerving about this revolution, no matter what." (pp 352-253)

Finally, Comrade Deng Xiaoping picked the most opportune moment to launch administrative streamlining. Generally speaking, timing is critical to any piece of reform and helps determine its success or failure. Timing has both objective and subjective conditions. After surveying the broad sweep of history analytically, Comrade Deng Xiaoping concluded that now is the best time to tackle administrative streamlining and that conditions are ripe, so he firmly decided to go ahead. He explained, "Conditions did not exist earlier on. Now that we have smashed the 'gang of four' and held the 3d through the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the right conditions are in place. Today we can put this issue on the agenda. Could we have waited a little longer? Things will only get even more difficult. The problem itself will worsen and will involve more issues and more people each year." (pp 351-352)



To sum up, based on the requirements of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has inherited and furthered a series of Marxist ideas and those of Chinese Communists on the leadership system. In the process he has given leadership reforms in China a powerful push. Nowadays we seriously study and master Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thought on leadership system, which has enormous guiding significance for China's current political reform and its four modernizations.

12581

CSO: 4005/283

VICE PREMIER LI PENG DISCUSSES SENDING STUDENTS ABROAD

Hong Kong LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 51, 22 Dec 86 pp 3-4

[Article by Chen Lian [7115 6647] and Li Shaoshan [2621 1421 1472]: "Vice Premier Li Peng [2621 7720] Speaks on Improving the Work of Sending Students Abroad"]

[Excerpt] China's Policy of Sending Students Abroad Unchanged

Li Peng said: China's policy of sending students abroad is not an expedient, but an important component of the open-door policy, and a basic national policy which must be upheld over a long period. Therefore, the policy of sending students abroad in various forms will not be changed. We are not only talking about it in logical terms, but also acting on it in practice. This year, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have specially discussed the work of sending students abroad and reached the required decisions. The number of Chinese students to be sent abroad during the seventh 5-year plan will be increased, and not decreased.

He then assessed both the positive and negative aspects of the work of sending students abroad. He said: "Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the state has sent more than 30,000 students abroad with government funds. Many others have also studied abroad with private funds. Based on our plans and requirements, more than 16,000 persons have completed their studies abroad and returned home. We can say that our work in sending students abroad has been a great success in the past several years. It has played a positive role in enabling us to learn from the advanced sciences and technologies as well as management experiences of foreign countries, to train our highly specialized personnel, and to improve the competence of our personnel.

"Most of the persons studying abroad have behaved well. They love the socialist motherland, study diligently with good results, abide by the law and respect the social customs of the host countries, and get along with their peoples. Many of them have also made new discoveries and breakthroughs in scientific research which are highly regarded at home and abroad. They have won glory for the motherland. Those who have returned to China after completing their studies abroad have given outstanding performance in scientific research, education, production and other fields. More and more of

them have become backbone elements in various trades and professions, and made positive contributions to the four modernizations.

"Of course, it cannot be denied that some problems exist in this work, mainly because the chosen disciplines and special courses are not closely coordinated with the national construction program. In some cases, there is a dislocation between studying and application. There are also other shortcomings in our work which have prevented us from making full use of the returned students. We must be aware that for a long time, China has been closed to the outside world. When its doors are suddenly flung open and tens of thousands of people are studying abroad, there should be no wonder that some problems would crop up. As long as we face the defects squarely and realistically, review our experiences, and continue to make improvements, we should be able to do a better job of sending students abroad.

"Based precisely on these considerations and acting in accordance with the spirit behind the decisions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, the State Educational Commission, after repeated deliberations and solicitations of comments from people in all walks of life, have recently formulated "Certain Regulations Concerning the Work of Sending Students Abroad."

Our correspondents asked: "Some people said that the main purpose of these documents is to prevent the outflow of talents. Are they correct?" Li Peng called this a misinterpretation. He said: Neither the documents of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council nor the specific rules formulated by the State Education Commission are mainly aimed at the prevention of the outflow of talents. The dominant spirit behind these documents can be summarized in these words:

**Sending People to Study Abroad According to Our Needs, Ensuring High Quality, and Studying for the Purpose of Application**

Li Peng then explained the full meaning of these words. He said: In the past, the choice of disciplines for the students studying abroad was not rational. For such theoretical disciplines as mathematics and physics, the number of students sent abroad has been somewhat excessive; and for the disciplines of application and management which are needed for national construction, the number of students is too small. Some persons have studied certain subjects which cannot meet the state's urgent needs. As a result, these people cannot be put to full use after the completion of their studies and their return to China. The so-called "sending students abroad according to our needs" means sending them according to the requirements of the four modernizations and with greater emphasis on the study of applications and management subjects. Due importance should be attached to disciplines of a theoretical nature, and continued efforts should be made in sending people abroad to study them. In the future, however, we have to increase the number of students of social sciences and literature and arts so that the finer aspects of foreign culture and ideology can be assimilated and used in China. At the same time, the proportions of students sent to different countries through government funding should be appropriately readjusted. Every country,

regardless of its size, has its merits. We must uphold this principle before we can learn from the strengths of various countries extensively.

Li Peng continued: In view of the fairly great developments in higher education and the rising standards of teaching and scientific research in the country, the training of graduate students should hereafter be based in China. In sending students abroad with government funds, therefore, we should give priority to the visiting scholars and the students of advanced courses with guaranteed results as a precondition. Except for linguistics and some other specialized subjects, we will generally send no more regular college students. We will suitably reduced the number of masters candidates and increase that of doctoral candidates, and open more channels of cooperation between China and foreign countries in scientific research and in training PhDs.

Li Peng said: Reform should be conducted in the enrollment of students to be sent abroad in order that they will study for the purpose of application. In the future, the majority of graduate students studying abroad with government funds will be sent by the units in need of their services, while a small number of them will be sent according to the state's unified arrangements. The advantages of their being sent by the units are: first, the specialized courses and subjects chosen for these students will be compatible with China's domestic needs; and second, it will be easier to conduct comprehensive checks on the ideology, integrity and professional competence of the students so as to ensure high quality.

A correspondent asked: "Some of the students are studying abroad with private funds. What is the policy toward them?"

Same Policy for Students Going Abroad with Either Government or Private Funds

Li Peng said: Foreign education financed by relatives or friends is also a method of personnel training to be actively supported. The state shows the same concern and care for students studying abroad with either government or private funds. It will help them solve their problems and encourage them in the same way to complete their studies and to serve the four modernizations upon their return to China. Those studying abroad with private funds and having obtained their BA or higher degree will be given state assistance in the way of payments for their return trip and their household expenses in China. They will also enjoy the same treatment as given to the students with government funds in job assignment or employment. They will be appointed according to their ability and given the opportunity to demonstrate their merits.

As to the question of "postdoctorate" research, Li Peng said: This is a matter of general concern, and we are taking a realistic approach. We will support any research or practical project as long as it is useful to China's science and technology. Even though some projects are not immediately needed, but may be useful in future, we would nevertheless support them, as long as conditions permit, and provide the facilities in the procedures of examination and approval.

Li Peng also talked about the question of home leave for students sent abroad with government funds. He said: As you know, the state does not have much foreign exchange on hand; yet we have set up certain rational rules concerning home leave. For example, if a student is expected to stay abroad fairly long, he can enjoy home leave with pay once. By this means, he will be able to have a reunion with his family and at the same time gain a better understanding of actual conditions in China. This understanding will help them to study for practical use in light of reality. If a student is sent abroad with government funds and his spouse wants to visit him, we have also given the matter due consideration and accordingly worked out the regulations. Li Peng added: On this question, we must be aware that China is still a developing country with limited economic resources and cannot emulate the developed countries.

After talking about the reform measures for the work of sending students abroad, Li Peng pointed out: The regulations worked out by the State Educational Commission now, compared with the previous regulations, is more flexible in some, but stricter in other respects. However, they are based on conditions in China and a review of our practical experiences over the past several years and are, therefore, more rational and closer to perfection. Now people seem to think that strictness means tighter control and flexibility means relaxed control. This rough interpretation of strictness and flexibility in terms of control is incorrect. If our decision to send no students or fewer students abroad is interpreted as tighter control, then how can it be claimed that we have tightened the control when we have not actually reduced the number of these students, and their qualities will be even better? Li Peng recalled that on his visit to England, someone asked about the requirement for each student studying abroad to pay a deposit of 20,000 yuan as a precaution against the outflow of talents. Li Peng replied with a laugh: I have never heard of such a regulation!

#### Confidence in Students Sent Abroad

Li Peng said: I believe that most of the people sent abroad love their socialist motherland, hope to see a strong and wealthy motherland, and are willing to contribute what they have learned to the motherland's four modernizations. We do not have to worry about their not coming back. As the situation now stands, some of them have returned as scheduled, while others have postponed their return. Of course, we hope those sent abroad according to state plan will return as scheduled to plunge into the task of four modernizations. This should be helpful to our entire work program. However, some of them have to come back a little later for some reason. This is understandable.

Li Peng also recalled his discussion with some new and old returned students. They talked about the school life of those sent abroad in the 1950's, and then the conditions of those spread out over the five continents today. They all had a common feeling: studying abroad is a painful experience. Although living conditions abroad may be better, they still had to undergo a period of hardship because of their separation from home, the lifestyle to which they were unaccustomed, the language difficulty, and the need to study under these conditions. Though physically abroad, these students still had the motherland

in mind, and were apt to compare everything they saw with their motherland. They were very eager to complete their studies and return to serve the motherland as soon as possible. The conditions under which they grew up, the environments of their study, and the mode of education they receive may be different for the students of two different generations; but they have the same love for the motherland and the same desire to bring prosperity to the Chinese nation. The political conviction of the Chinese students abroad, formed in the course of their life work, cannot be changed by anybody.

#### Be Prepared To Work Hard as Pioneers

Then he said with deep emotion: "In a magazine, I read about the five generations. The first generation refers to those students sent abroad by China during the period of Westernization Movement, and Dr Sun Yat-sen, the forerunner of China's democratic revolution, was one of them. The second generation refers to the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation including Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. The third generation refers to the scientists including Qian Xuesen [6929 1331 3773]; the fourth generation, those of the 1950's; and the fifth generation, those who are now abroad. Conditions for the fifth generation are much better than before. Science and technology are now developing rapidly, and they are able to learn more advanced knowledge. They have active minds, a great variety of knowledge, and many strengths and fine points we do not have. Such is the law of historical development: each generation is stronger than the preceding one. We are placing our hope on them, and, of course, on those who are even more numerous in China as well. Many of them will serve as pillars in building the future motherland."

Before the conclusion of his talk, Li Peng gave this advice to those who were about to return after completing their studies: "Anyone who wants to become useful must be prepared for hard struggle." He said: After returning to China, they will find the living conditions not so good as in foreign countries. The state will certainly give them some assistance, but such assistance can only be limited because of its limited financial resources. Furthermore, their living standards should not be too much higher than those of the broad masses. Their material conditions will certainly not be as good as in foreign countries; this will mean greater hardship. However, the hard struggle I mentioned earlier refers not only to daily life, but also to their professional career. There will be twists and turns in their professional career, and they must be prepared to work hand in hand with their comrades in China as pioneers. It must also be understood that the knowledge and technology learned abroad must be coordinated with the practice in China. They must be prepared to encounter difficulties and setbacks in their careers and academic research. They must have an indomitable spirit and go through repeated tempering before they can be truly useful during China's vigorous development.

9411

CSO: 4005/291

PERSONAL CONNECTION NETWORKS DISCUSSED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 10, 15 Oct 86 pp 25-27

[Article by Yu Yingjie [0151 5391 2638] of the CHANGJIANG RIBAO: "The 'Network of Personal Connections' Must be Smashed In Order To Improve Party Work Style"]

[Excerpts] In real life and work some comrades consider the "network of personal connections" as normal and inevitable relations among people. They thought the "network of personal connections" is the sum total and magnification of such relations. In fact, it is not so. We think the so-called "network of personal relations" is a general and major form of expression of unhealthy tendencies existing today in the party and society as well as a comprehensive demonstration of various forms of expression of unhealthy tendencies. It is caused by the combination of the ideas left over from China's traditional feudal and patriarchal systems and the ideological influence of bourgeois extreme individualism and egoism in the course of reform or "invigorating the domestic economy and opening up to the outside world." It is a distortion of normal interpersonal relations.

The "Network of Personal Relations" has several basic characteristics as follows: 1) people in this network are interrelated and interdependent for the narrow interests of individuals or small groups, including purely economic interests as well as greater economic interests with a little political overtone or involving a major political issue. 2) It involves many fields and exists extensively in our social and even political life. 3) Due to the above two characteristics, the "network of personal relations" has twisted roots and gnarled branches; therefore, a slight move in one part can affect the situation as a whole. It is not that easy to break through or smash such a network.

I. There is a historical reason for the cause of the "network of personal relations."

"All historical phenomena can be explained with the easiest method and the concepts and ideas of every historical period can also be explained very simply by the economic conditions of the life of this period and by the social and political relations determined by the economic conditions." (Engels: "Karl Marx," see p 41, volume 3 of the "Selected Works of Marx and



Engels") China is a country with a long history of feudal society. In a feudal society, natural economy occupies a dominant position. The conservative nature of such an economy determines the conservative nature of political and ideological formation of feudal society. In a feudal society, people "get up at sunrise and retire at sunset" and "hear neighbors' chickens and dogs but never visit them all their lives." What really plays an extensive and important role in their daily lives is the patriarchal system based on blood relations. Therefore, in the feudal society of China, interpersonal ties mainly are ties between the members of a household or family. This kind of production and life style determines people's concepts, ideology, and what they say and do. Before liberation, China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and natural economy and semi-natural economy occupied a very large proportion of the national economy. After liberation, this situation did not improve for a long period of time in rural areas. The degree of the socialization of industrial production was not very high either in urban areas. Therefore, it was impossible to change much of the old concepts and ideology.

At the same time, the decadent ideology, psychological quality, and traditional moral concepts of previous formations of society, namely the remnants of decadent ideology left over from the feudal society is relatively independent and their influence cannot possibly vanish along with the abolition of the feudal social system. In any society, a dominant ideology is always the ideology of a ruling class. In the long period of China's feudal society, science, culture, ideology and even education itself all turned into political instruments. Political effect and influence penetrated all spheres which cannot be reached by political activities themselves, bringing about a phenomenon that "the state and family are connected and monarchical and patriarchal powers can be useful to each other" (says Wang Yanan [3769 0068 0589]) Under this influence, many common people who are very calculating and good at political trickery have formed groups and cliques to manipulate and play tricks in their small area of interests. Don't they look just like an overlord?

The invasion of imperialist big powers reduced China to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in no time. Such an imperialist invasion, which was not only economic but also ideological and cultural, plus the gradual formation of capitalism in China caused capitalist ideas to exist on the land of China since then. Capitalism is of course a major progress in history compared to feudalism, but as far as the entire bourgeois ideological system is concerned, its nucleus is still extreme individualism. The whole set of decadent capitalist ideas have gradually penetrated the body of our nation, coincided with the thinking that "unless a man looks out for himself, heaven and earth will destroy him" which already existed in our nation, and become the spiritual opium and burden of our nation.

In sum, although the ideological remnants of a feudal and patriarchal system and bourgeois extreme individualism were the "embryo" of the "network of personal connections" in its making, had it not been for a series of actual historical conditions acting as "yeast," it would not have developed into the present situation.



The series of historical conditions may be roughly summarized in three categories according to the chronological order of history:

1. We failed to thoroughly criticize feudal ideas and greatly underestimated their detrimental effects. The 28 years of new democratic revolution were directed against feudalism, but its main purpose was to find a political solution to the question of political power. The overwhelming majority of revolutionaries used to be peasants and the allies of the revolution were formed basically by the broad masses of peasants. At that time, everybody was busy fighting and getting control of political power and nobody had spare energies to attend to the elimination of the remnants of feudal ideas in the revolutionary rank. After the liberation of China, we criticized feudal ideology, but not very thoroughly.

2. During the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" went against historical trends and caused great upheaval and calamities throughout China. Millions upon millions of masses were drawn into a fanatic factional struggle, factions and cliques were formed, and the remnants of feudal ideas, bourgeois extreme individualism, and egoism expanded rapidly. As a result, the fine moral and ideological standards which we cultivated during the 17 years after the founding of China were suddenly dropped to a much lower level. Many people learned lessons from the negative aspects of this great turmoil. Therefore, today its pernicious influence still exists and shows up now and then.

3. Certain loopholes exist in the process of replacing the old economic system with a new one. The main purpose of reform is to change our planned economy which has the overtone of a natural economy into a planned socialist commodity economy. The reform is bound to affect the existing interests of some people who are bound to use their "network of personal connections" and power to protect their interests in the trend of reform. Moreover, the open-door policy will inevitably invite decadent bourgeois ideology. This will unavoidably provide psychological excitement and create some useful loopholes and opportunities for those people who engage in unhealthy tendencies and are interested in organizing the "network of personal connections."

II. The "network of personal connections" is demonstrated in two major areas--economic and political life.

In economic life, the concentrated expression of the "network of personal connections" is the "business relationship of money, wine, and meat" under which people use each other for their own economic interests. The selfish and indifferent thinking currently prevailing in our society is in essence the inevitable outcome of the "network of personal connections."

In political life, the concentrated expression of the "network of personal connections" is in the following three areas:

1. Petticoat relationships established through marriage. In the past few years, due to various reasons, many of our organs, institutions, and enterprises have witnessed the phenomenon that cadres' relatives are all gathered together, such as husbands and wives in one place, fathers and sons

or mothers and sons in one place, in-laws, parents, sons and daughters-in-law in one place, fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law in one place, sisters and brothers in one place or nephews, uncles and brothers-in-law in one place, forming a complicated network of blood and marriage relations. The masses describe such a phenomenon as "party and government cadres are relatives while political and judicial cadres are fathers and sons." Some people use these relations to place their relatives in a big way.

2. Old friend relationships established among colleagues and friends. In old society, to get along with people, one should pay attention three kinds of people, namely "fellow villagers, classmates, and colleagues." In old society, even a saint could not avoid this practice. Among the old sayings circulated in the past were "no army can be formed without the people of Hunan Province" and "no town can be formed without the people of Anhui" (the people of Huizhou in Anhui Province were noted for doing business). These sayings are the concentrate expressions of the petticoat and old-friend relationships in old society. Today, many people are still interested in doing so. In regard to admission to the party, promotion, raises, and sending people to foreign countries, they all want to give favor to their relatives, old friends, acquaintances, fellow villagers, classmates, and former supervisors and subordinates. They will never let benefits fall into the hands of a stranger. Even those who are related to the people of the above relations can also get promotions, appointments to important positions, or other material benefits if they inform them beforehand, write a letter or visit them at home. As for those who are qualified but do not belong to this "network of personal connections," they will ignore or even reject them. Obviously, this has a great corrosive influence on our cadres ranks.

3. Factional relationships left over from the 10-year turmoil. In the past, the feudal society emphasized the relationship between the monarch and his subjects" as the saying goes: "every new sovereign brings his own courtiers." The remnants of this influence in today's expression is following one person from the beginning to the end with the higher level acting as a protective umbrella and the lower level acting as "holding on to the thighs" of the higher level, thus inevitably resulting in the formation of small groups and factions. In the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," factional ideology went rampant and still has a considerable market even today. The phenomenon of "appointing people by favoritism" (which is not limited to relationship by blood, but refers to relationship in the sense of economic and political interests) is still very serious. In some places, this phenomenon exists but is not visible and the "ghost" of factionalism refuses to leave. The phenomena of political decentralization, liberalism, and sectarianism also exist, seriously in some places.

12302

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MODEL COUNTY PARTY SECRETARY INTRODUCED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 52, 29 Dec 86 p 42

[Article by Zhou Yuan [0719 0626]: "A Courageous Person of Independent Thinking; Wang Xuegang [3769 1331 0474], Secretary of Yexian County, Interviewed]

[Text] When the economic reform continues to intensify, everything becomes complicated, and divergent views are rife, the job of a county party committee secretary in the faithful implementation of policy cannot be an easy one. It will be even more difficult to do anything creative by implementing the directives from above in light of the existing local situation. It is more difficult because many things are happening like a gust of wind. Anyone sailing with the wind will be safe and sound, because the collapse of the sky would crush everybody and no one is to blame. However, sailing against the wind is indeed a severe test.

Comrade Wang Xuegang was appointed secretary of Yexian County Party Committee in August last year. Yexian, formerly called Laizhou, is a big place with a population of 850,000. Wang Xuegang was then slightly over 40 with sharp eyes. He had studied vocal music, and spent several years as secretary of a township party committee and another several years as director of Yantai's forestry bureau.

He arrived at precisely the time when the gust of tightening macrocontrol and restricting super-fast growth was beginning. Everyone knew that for some time last year, the super-fast growth of some rural enterprises would be fraught with serious consequences, and had the premonition that something unpleasant was in the offing. The clamor for "restrictions" was very loud, and the pungent criticism of the reform was almost beyond endurance. As a new comer, Wang Xuegang could easily sail with the wind by relaying the directive from the upper to the lower levels, and consider his duty fulfilled. No one would make any higher demand on him.

But this was not Wang Xuegang's work style. He studied the central authorities' directives and the result of his investigations, and told the county on 30 August that the following four points should be clarified in the restriction of growth speed:

1. The step-by-step improvement of the system of responsibility for production cannot be called frequent policy changes.
2. The mistakes made by individual reformers cannot be considered as problems of the reform itself.
3. The mistakes and shortcomings of reformers and the deceitful means used by certain individuals cannot be mentioned in the same breath.
4. There must be a distinction between super-fast growth speed and normal growth speed.

Developments among the rural enterprises of 28 townships were then uneven. Some of them developed very rapidly, making a profit of 10 million yuan a year, while others developed very slowly, and their earnings each year were only enough for each person to buy a pack of Gold Deer cigarettes. In the county, 18 rural enterprises are developing fairly well, but the remaining 10 are still undeveloped.

The problem of these 10 enterprises did not call for restriction, but rather some way of development. However, they were short of funds. The county party committee mobilized the people to borrow from their relatives and friends everywhere to help solve this problem. Xiyou Town originally planned on a state loan of 10 million yuan for its 38 projects. After the state tightened the issuance of currency, Wang Xuegang encouraged the people to sell their overstocked goods, change their business methods, curtail their expenditures, and pool their resources. They thus raised more than 6 million yuan and solved the problem of funds. The amount was 4 million yuan less than what they expected from government loan, but was enough for the 38 projects to be put into operation and to yield profits in the same year. In 1985, the rural enterprises' output value in Xiyou doubled that of the first year. Their profits also doubled.

Xiyou Town is an epitome of Yexian County. Wang Xuegang's first outstanding performance with his independent thinking and courage in seeking truth from facts was his handling of the four relationships. Thus he not only acted in accordance with the spirit of the central authorities' directive, but also protected and developed the initiative of the reformers, and brought a new outlook for Yexian.

In handling the major policies for the county, Wang Xuegang would calmly size up the situation with a sober mind and would never rush things. He was able to combine the spirit of the central authorities with the local realities, and then think over them independently. All county party committee secretaries capable of such performance have one common trait, namely, enthusiasm in conducting investigations and study. They must be thoroughly familiar with the local conditions before they could have the courage for independent thought. Wang Xuegang has been in Yexian less than 2 years and already conducted four surveys, each lasting 1 month. Each time, he was joined by the leaders of five major leading bodies (the county party committee, the government, the people's congress, the people's political consultative committee, and the discipline inspection commission) and each survey group

consisted of hundreds of people. They went down together to the basic levels to investigate one or two important problems and then supplied data for the county party committee's policy decisions.

Shangjiashan has only 80 households. It is a small mountain village in Yexian, poor and isolated. On a rainy day, Wang Xuegang and the county chief, carrying their umbrellas, had to walk 14 li and cross 4 rivers to reach this village.

After an on-the-spot investigation, Wang Xuegang held a meeting in the office of the township government on the following day for the solution of Shangjiashan's problems. This village was inaccessible by motor vehicles, and it was decided that a road would be built. It had no electricity, and it was decided that a power line be put up to provide illumination and public telephone service. Two teachers were sent there to promote elementary education, and doctors were sent to open clinics. The meeting lasted only 1 and one-half hours and all the problems raised by the people were solved. In the several months following the meeting, Wang Xuegang made four inspection trips to Shangjiashan.

Shangjiashan brings to mind the county. In this county, there are 82 poor villages with a per-capita income of less than 300 yuan a year. The departments directly under the county sent 162 persons to these villages where they would remain 1 year to find a remedy for this poverty. The main method they used was to open rural enterprises and to develop commodity production.

At present, the work of some county party committee secretaries is merely to implement the directives from the higher authorities at the basic levels. This work is certainly important. However, if a county party committee secretary is satisfied with only his ability to "implement" and does not have the knack of acting independently in light of actual local conditions, he leaves much to be desired. A person relying only the directives of the central authorities alone cannot translate the spirit of the directives into action. Only those who go the masses and come from the masses are good leaders.

9411

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CADRE SYSTEM REFORM DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO OVERSEAS EDITION in CHINESE 2 Nov 86 p 8

[Article by Yan Jiaqi [0917 1367 0366] excerpted from RENCAI TIANDI [TALENT WORLD]: "Cadre System Reform Must Be Scientific"]

[Text] As the reform of the cadre system covers a broad range and constitutes a very complex engineering project, scientific attitudes and methods are required. First of all, we must make scientific classifications and guard against imposing uniform standards on the tens of millions of cadres in all trades and professions throughout the country and judging them by the same criteria. Only by means of scientific classification can we proceed with the cadre system reform.

Next, we must clarify the criteria and norms of administrative posts and create stringent organizational legislation. We should, in the form of law, define the administrative establishments of state organs, clarify the norms of administrative posts, and clearly delineate the work substance, procedures, and power boundaries in order to avoid arbitrariness in organizational management.

Third, the administrative personnel of the state must follow the system of permanent employment. It is a measure which should be adopted in conjunction with the abolition of life tenure. Administrative work must be treated as a profession. Outstanding personnel should be promoted, poor ones transferred, and the aged retired, but as a rule there must be no arbitrary dismissals. Different from life or term tenure, permanent employment is a cadre system to maintain the normality of the administrative work of the state and the relative stability of personnel.

Fourth, we must create a specialized qualification examination system for party and government, enterprise and business, and professional cadres of all kinds. In addition to the realms of science and technology and colleges and universities, title evaluation must include all cadres with professional qualifications. Today, it is detrimental to the younger generation when anyone with a rudimentary education can teach in elementary schools, and it is utter disregard for human life when any family member able to read a few words can order prescriptions from the pharmacy. Moreover, students fresh out of college are assigned to the third echelon, and even promised official posts.

There is now a satirical saying about the current cadre system: "If a person has no skill in anything, he is made a cadre." Though they cannot comprehensively cover the flaws of our cadre system, these joking words do indicate the absence of scientific ways in cadre selection. Only the creation of a stringent specialization qualification examination system will gradually improve the situation.

6080/13104

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MAKING CADRE RANKS YOUNGER CLARIFIED

Beijing BANYUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 24, 25 Dec 86 pp 9-11

[Article by Gao De [7559 3695], secretary of Jilin Provincial CPC Committee: "Rejuvenation Does Not Mean Having Exclusively Young People"]

[Text] To meet the requirements of the four modernizations, we must promote and organize those outstanding persons who uphold the four cardinal principles, know about modern science and technology as well as business management and operations, have both ability and political integrity, and are in the prime of life. We must let them bear heavy responsibilities and lead the broad masses to accomplish this glorious and arduous task. In accordance with the Party Central Committee's strategic plans and policy to have "younger in average age, more revolutionary, better educated, and professionally more competent" cadres, Jilin Province conducted two major readjustments in 1983 and 1985, and many young and middle-age cadres have been promoted to leading posts at various levels. The structure of leading bodies at various levels in the province has been marked improved.

In the implementation of this cadre policy, one of the often discussed questions is how to interpret the scientific meaning of making younger and to handle the problem of cadres, aged 50 or more, retiring from their leading posts. If the rejuvenation we talk about refers to the cadre ranks as a whole, it means the replacement of the old by the new, the cooperation between them, the enforcement of the retirement system, and the continued recruitment of new cadres in order to preserve the great vitality of the cadre ranks. If it refers to the leading bodies at every level, it means the formation of a structure of different age groups on a foundation of ability and political integrity and with the young and middle-age cadres as the main component, and a change of the irrational phenomenon of leading bodies consisting of a single age group and undergoing the same ageing process.

Rejuvenation does not mean having exclusively young people, or the younger the better. In choosing cadres for promotion, we must keep our eyes on those comrades who have ability and political integrity and are in the prime of life. There should no doubt on this point. However, it does not mean that all leading bodies should be exclusively "young," or should compose of young and middle-age cadres alone. Instead, there should be a rational age structure with young and middle-age cadres, all in the prime of life, as the

main component, and different echelons corresponding to different levels of administration.

Rejuvenation does not mean age reduction at every level. Generally, the leading bodies at the lower levels should be a little younger than at the higher levels, but this is not absolutely necessary. With rejuvenation as a prerequisite, the overlapping of personnel of different age groups in leading bodies of different levels may be permitted. For example, party and government leading bodies at the provincial, prefectural and county levels may all have cadres aged 50 or more, while those at the county and township levels may have cadres aged 40 or more. But the leading bodies at the township level may have cadres aged 50 or more. Generally, our province did well in this respect. However, there were also some localities and units mechanically reducing the age of their leading body members at every level. This is improper for the reason that not all prefectural and county cadres can be promoted to a higher level, and this arbitrary age reduction would dampen the enthusiasm of the middle-age cadres now in their work posts. In the appointment of cadres, we must not be guided by the saying that "people past the age of 51 will not be accepted by anyone." Nor can we insist that cadres past the age of 50 must retire from their leading posts. Instead of following any arbitrary rules and interpreting everything in absolute terms, we must conduct concrete analyses of specific problems, and promote the deserving ones. However, the age of cadres must not be all over 50; otherwise, we cannot solve the problem of orderly replacement of leading cadres. The young cadres without the required training at every stage cannot take over the jobs, and the result will be a "rift" in work and a suspension of our undertaking. After all, a number of cadres over 50 have to retire from their leading posts, and some cadres who should be promoted may not be promoted. This is necessary for the advancement of the party's cause according to the objective laws which are independent of people's wishes.

The comrades retiring from their leading posts should understand that by handing over their duties and their opportunity of promotion to the younger comrades, who can then be trained and brought up as soon as possible, they are helping to preserve the leading bodies in their best possible form and ensuring "a pool of fresh water." This is a historical requirement as well as their personal contribution to the revolution. The party organizations at all levels should also show their concern and solicitude for these comrades, and give full play to the role of those who have retired over the age of 50. Necessary conditions should be created for them to continue working according to their own specialty.

Our stress on the role of those who have retired from their leading posts cannot affect the orientation of making the cadre ranks younger or the leadership of the new leading bodies over routine work. At the mention of giving play to the role of cadres over the age of 50, some localities and units are now planning to reinstate the "members," who have retired, to "leading" posts by creating unauthorized slots for leading cadres. This is improper. The principle of making the cadre ranks younger cannot be changed, and the slots for leading cadres cannot be increased.

The task for those comrades who have retired from their leading posts is, first, to conduct investigations and study in order to provide scientific data for the leading bodies' policy decisions; and second, to undertake the responsibility for certain important projects. They should be given the necessary authority while undertaking certain projects. Full use of these comrades will help further reform the administrative system of cadres and create a congenial social atmosphere. Cadres either in posts or out of posts all have the responsibility of attending to these important and highly significant matters carefully.

9411

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RULE BY MEN, RULE BY LAW COMPARED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 10, 15 Oct 86 pp 14-17

[Article by Ne Zhengmou [0242 2973 5399], Law Research Institute, Shanghai College of Social Sciences: "A Major Task in the Reform of the Legal System; Eradicate the Concept of the Rule of Men"]

[Excerpts] I. Lingering Concept of the Rule of Men

A. Deep-rooted Feudalistic Consciousness

The rule of men is part of a feudalistic consciousness. Throughout the long history of China's feudalistic societies, although the Confucianists and Legalists heatedly contended over strategies on how to manage state affairs, both schools put the feudal lords in the supreme position; all authority in legislation, judicial matters, administration, army, and government as in the hands of the emperor. In the end the two schools joined together to form a pseudo-Confucian art of the "rule of virtue, supplemented by punishment." But the "rule" of "virtue" (virtuous rule), which was "supplemented" by the use of "punishment" (rule by punishment), was still contingent upon the wishes of the ruler, and in fact it was still the rule of men.

B. There Are Limits to Our Present System

With the birth of New China we have established the most democratic national system and social system in Chinese history.

However, our people's republic is nevertheless born out of the semi-colonial and semi-feudalistic old China; it is inevitable that our national system and social system have their imperfections and limitations. That is why today we still emphasize the need to be more democratized, more systematized, and more legalized. Those who verbally acknowledge the "imperfections" and "limitations" and prate about "improvements," but fly into a rage when they hear others discuss these real "imperfections" and "limitations," are contemptible people.

The writer thinks that one of the limitations in the present system is tolerance of the rule of men and negligence of the rule of law within certain links: This is evident in our repeated efforts to streamline the system, which incurred high costs but accomplished little if not suffered "total defeat."

### C. Theory of the Rule of Men Has Not Been Thoroughly Criticized

Indeed, numerous people in the legal community have a participant's knowledge of the debate between the rule of men and the rule of law; it has a long history, and many have written essays on the subject. There are numerous dissertations, short essays, special collections, special issues, and volume after volume of rich discussions. But in retrospect, perhaps it was because people still have some lingering fears, or because their analysis lacked depth, they failed to criticize thoroughly and profoundly the theory, the concept, and the practice of the rule of men, especially the practice of the rule of men subsequent to the founding of the people's republic. It is easy for people to get the impression that, while the rule of law is good, the rule of men may still work, and as long as those "men" who "rule" are qualified to be the "successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution," or as long as they meet the standards of being "more revolutionary, younger in average age, better adjusted, and professionally more competent," everything will be just fine. It was exactly under the influence of this kind of viewpoint that the concept which advocated "utilizing the law" but also "utilizing men" won the upper hand in a grand style, especially in the later periods, in the controversy of the rule of men versus the rule of law. Throughout the debates, there was not a single writing denouncing and condemning the evil effects of the rule of men; there was not one significant critical treatise against the theory of the rule of men. In short, because the rule of men has not been thoroughly criticized, in real life there is still a market for the theory of the rule of men while the rule of law is going nowhere.

### D. There is "Hidden Favor" [as published] in the So-called "Rule of Law"

In the debate between the rule of men and the rule of law within the legal community, another major flaw is the failure of some comrades who advocate the "rule of law" to understand the meaning of "rule." As a result there is a "hidden danger."

Although those comrades who advocate the "rule of law" repeatedly declare that they favor a "socialist rule of law" and not "bourgeois rule of law," they have no idea what "socialist rule of law" means, or what "socialist laws" are, or what is being "ruled."

We can also discern among these comrades who advocate the "rule of law" that some are constantly applauding, singing the praises of, and speaking highly of the bourgeois rule of law.

Our jurists have emphasized the "rule of law" but deep down they favor the "rule of the people by the law," and this is the "hidden danger" because this ultimately leads back to the rule of men. This kind of rule of law is different from the bourgeois rule of law only in the number of people who rule: under the bourgeois rule of law, a small number of people "rule" a large number of people. But if the socialist rule of men is to "rule the people by the law," does it imply that a large number of people will rule a small number of people? In today's universal education in the legal system, in some areas there are occurrences where cadres are not leading in the study of the legal system.

Instead they "make the people study the law," and we see that "cadres teach, the people learn" or "the cadres speak, the people concur": These in fact are the reflections of the idea of "rule the people by the law."

#### E. Idea of Democracy Still Needs Cultivation, Concept of a Legal System Is Still Weak

There are problems from above and from below in the rule of men and the rule of law. In a country where capitalism is well developed, the bourgeoisie would not be able to set up a rule of men even if it wanted to. This is because the consciousness of democracy is deeply rooted in the people's hearts. That is why a despotic monster like Hitler promulgated numerous fascist laws and hid behind the banner of bourgeois rule of law to carry out his deceptive acts. But deceptions cannot last forever, and so in the end he was swept into the garbage heap of history.

Similarly, in a developing socialist country where the cultural and scientific standards are relatively low, where educational undertakings lag behind, where democratic traditions are weak, and where the people's idea of democracy still needs cultivating, there will be all kinds of resistance from the people below if one attempts to promote socialist democracy and practice socialist rule of law. A concrete manifestation of this kind of resistance is the weakness in the concept of law. The people's lack of legal concepts inevitably effects the implementation of the legal system, the effects on legislation, judicial matters, and law enforcement will be less than ideal, and the rule of law will be hindered. Conversely, from the point of view of the rule of men, the lack of democratic consciousness and the weakness in the concept of laws provide the favorable opportunity and grounds for promoting the rule of men.

#### II. Manifestations of the Giant Shadow of the Rule of Men

For the reasons just stated, the rule of men still casts a giant shadow on the realities of life today. Here are a few examples for illustration:

##### A. Concerning Economic Construction

For many years our economic construction was ruined by the theory of the rule of men, and the results were devastating and bitter. In one instance tens of thousands were sent to the mills to produce iron and steel. In another instance millions and millions were sent to cultivate the land. At one time we experienced the Great Leap Forward and launched "satellites"; there were "huge and public" people's communes; we "dug holes and stored grains"; we "grasped the revolution and promoted production"; we looked for more oil fields like the Daqing Oil Field; and so on. Billions and billions of RMB were thus wasted. One piece of paper authorized the importation of several hundred automobiles or tens of thousands sets of color television; a single telephone call could set up or close down a large factory: these scenes were not uncommon before the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. There have been significant improvements since then; however, before our economic construction is put under the rule of law, and so long as there is a market for the rule of men, we will still see individual leaders scheme and plot, take matters in

their own hands, sign papers, and make phone calls, instead of letting experts find scientific proof of the feasibility of various economic plans. The Hainan Island automobile incident, the Jinjiang counterfeit drugs case, the cases involving cadres meddling in trade and setting up businesses, and major import-export trade extortion and bribery cases are all related to the rule of men in economic construction.

#### B. Construction of the Contingent of Cadres

The case for "appointing people by favoritism" has been refuted in theory, but has it been refuted in practice? Obviously there is no definite answer.

If the concept of "appointing people by favoritism" has been refuted in theory, or at least the idea of "appointing people on their merits" has been praised. But does it really merit such a vote of confidence? This writer thinks "favoritism" and "merits" are basically the products of the theory of the rule of men, because it requires "men" to make the "appointments," and both concepts are dependent on "men's" subjective standards, subjective observations, subjective analyses, and subjective judgments. Often it is a question of men's subjective preferences too.

Those who advocate "appointing people on their merits" often take delight in citing "Ba Le," but "Ba Le" is just a myth, a fable, or a legend, or perhaps even the name is not real, and everything about him is make-believe. To pattern our personnel appointment standards after this type of mystery is the game of those who advocate the theory of feudalistic rule of men. Today, if we put all our hopes in "Ba Le," would we not be lowering the standards for personnel appointment from the socialist level to the feudalistic level?

#### C. Concerning Government Organs and Cadre Administration

Government organs are cumbersome; they are duplicative and overstaffed; everything is tied up in paperwork and conferences; work progress is sluggish; and efficiency is low: they have become the stumbling block in the energetic restructuring of the economic system. The central government has repeatedly tried to implement organizational reforms, but the results have been less than satisfactory. In fact, in some areas the situation has deteriorated, the number of organs has increased, friends and relatives are installed, and the already cumbersome organs are now colossal.

The duplicative and numerous organs each go their own way, they wrangle with each other, and some even take advantage of the reform to make money; they are oppressive, they ruin the economic construction, and they obstruct economic reforms. Some cadres are highly irresponsible at work and abuse their authority, causing the country to suffer great losses.

So far what do we have to rely on to handle this kind of problem? Can we rely on laws? How extensive are our administrative laws? Do we have constitutional high courts? Do we have administrative high courts?

We have yet to promulgate basic administrative laws.



We do not have constitutional high courts.

We do not have administrative high courts, and we do not even have regular administrative law courts.

#### D. Public Safety Aspects

Undoubtedly there has been an improvement in the general mood in society, and there has been significant improvement in public safety. But we have not yet accomplished the goal of radically improving the general mood in society, and in some areas corruption is still widespread.

The total failure in certain aspects of public safety can be attributed to the lingering effects of the rule of men which caused the judicial and administrative organs to fail and to fulfill their functions in accordance with the principles of the socialist rule of law.

Investigations of many crimes are not pursued to the end. Why? Because there are protective umbrellas.

Although many cases are thoroughly investigated by the procuratorates, and everything seems clearcut, often verdicts cannot be reached and judgments are hard to make; many cases are taken to higher levels, and some cases reach the highest leadership level before the final verdicts are heard.

#### III. Concept of the Rule of Men Must Be Eradicated

First, the Concept of the Rule of Men Is a Countercurrent in the Forward-surg-ing Tide of History.

Ideologically, the rule of law is compatible with the objective realities of the developments in our political, economic, and legal systems, while the concept of the rule of men is a countercurrent among the developments of new concepts on how to administer the country. Today, in the New China where the socialist system has been firmly established for over 30 years, in the worldwide trend toward democracy, and under the irresistible force of the trend toward the rule of law, if we still insist on the rule of men, if we still tolerate the rule of men, undoubtedly we will be rendered the laughing-stock of history.

Second, the Concept of the Rule of Men Is the Archenemy of Reforms.

Some people suggest that we should not only "utilize the laws" but also "utilize men" because Marx said: "To make use of laws we must have judges." This is an erroneous interpretation of the concepts of the rule of men and the rule of law. Although the rule of law requires the participation of men, it should not lead to the emphasizing both concepts. Each concept has its own specific implications. The rule of men implies using people's subjective inferences and subjective emotions as criteria for measuring and handling problems. The criterion of the rule of law is the law itself. Thus the two are mutually exclusive; we can have one or the other, but not both. In short, the rule of men is the antithesis of the rule of law, and they can never coexist.

If we insist on the rule of men, then the accomplishments of the reforms, and the policies which are proven workable, cannot be legally affirmed. And if complications should occur later, there will be "relapses," the achievements of the reforms will be lost forever, and reform will come to a premature end. This is because under the rule of men, "policies survive with the leader and die with the leader." Because there is no objective set of laws to rely upon, if there is a change in leadership, everything else can change. Thus the concept of the rule of men is the archenemy of reform. To succeed in reform we must target the rule of men and eradicate the concept.

Third, the Rule of Men Harbors Malicious Intentions and Is a Corrupt Concept Which Causes Social Upheavals.

The starting point of the rule of men calls for "as astute rules and a virtuous council." Never mind the fact that unlike garbage "astute rulers and virtuous council" are hard to come by. Even if we had both, it is hard to foresee, with changing environments, conditions, and times, whether they can remain "astute" and "virtuous" to the end. There are numerous such lessons throughout history.

We have learned our lesson: because we worshipped the rule of men, because we had blind faith in one person, we turned a leader into a god, from whom "one word is worth 10,000 words"; we ignored all laws, and eventually that led to the unprecedented and unrepeatable tragedy of the "cultural revolution," the effects of which were so devastating that a billion people are still suffering from it.

To fail to learn from history and reality, to continue to tolerate the rule of men is to harbor malicious purposes and sow the seeds for another round of "internal turmoil" which "defies all laws." Experience has proven that the rule of men is neither scientific nor progressive; it is an unscientific and corrupt concept.

This is the time to take action and eradicate the concept of the rule of men.

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SONG JIAN DISCUSSES INTELLECTUALS' ROLE IN COUNTRYSIDE

Beijing BANYUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 24, 25 Dec 86

[Interview with Song Jian by Yu Jingqi [0060 4552 4359]: "Intellectuals Encouraged To Become Entrepreneurs in Countryside; State Councillor Song Jian Interviewed"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] "We should permit, support, and encourage the liberation of some intellectuals from their departmental confinement so that they could go to the countryside or the small towns to run collective rural enterprises under contract, or to open joint-stock or private enterprises. They should be allowed to help the people become rich and at the same to become rich themselves." This was what Song Jian [1345 0256], state councillor and concurrently Minister in Charge of the State Science and Technology Commission, announced at a recent meeting in Chengdu.

Encouraging intellectuals to become entrepreneurs in the countryside marks an important breakthrough in the economic reform policy. For this reason, I had an interview with Comrade Song Jian.

"Why is this new policy introduced?"

My question was short and to the point. Comrade Song Jian was also very prompt in his reply: "As I can see now, the purpose is to promote rural and local economic development, including the implementation of the 'spark plan.' However, the most important purpose is to accelerate rural modernization."

He continued: The key to China's rural modernization is a shift from natural economy to commodity economy. For a large-scale increase in rural labor productivity, the rural economy must first turn to industrialization for development. Three conditions are required for this development, namely, qualified personnel, funds, and technical equipment. The "spark plan" has begun to play its role in promoting rural and local economic development. To increase the momentum of this development, we should encourage the intellectuals of cities to open enterprises and to become entrepreneurs and traders in the countryside.

Song Jian supplied some figures for illustration. In all rural areas throughout China, according to a survey conducted by the agricultural department, there are an average of 6.6 technicians for every 10,000 people; one agrotechnician for every 7,000 mu of farmland; one animal husbandry technician for every 7,000 head of cattle; one herding technician for every 230 mu of pastureland; and one professional for every 160 rural enterprise. What is even more disturbing is that each year, many secondary school graduates in the countryside entered universities and very few of them have returned to the countryside after their graduation in universities. This trend is still continuing. Our countryside and localities need many intellectuals for their enterprises and establishments. Intellectuals know technology and market demands, and can manage small enterprises. Through commodity production, they can accumulate more funds and continue to raise the equipment and technological standards of the enterprises.

"How is the potential of urban intellectuals in the countryside?" I asked.

Comrade Song Jian again cited some figures: There are 16 million professional technicians throughout the country, but very few of them are working in the countryside. Of the 1,040 agricultural specialists trained since Liberation, 630,000 have left the "agricultural field" for some other trade. Many of the university graduates sent to the frontier and mountainous regions have also been assigned to government departments in recent years.

He said: These figures show the improper structure and distribution of China's scientific and technical personnel. Very few specialists were trained for the localities and the countryside, and even fewer were sent to the townships. They were mostly concentrated in the cities. The hoarding of talents is serious in some large enterprises and scientific research units. If more scientific and technical personnel will leave the units now operating under capacity for the small and medium-size cities and the countryside, they can make far greater contributions than they would in research institutes.

He then introduced a good example of intellectuals running enterprises in the villages. Wan Runnan [8001 3387 0589], a software engineer of the computer center of Chinese Academy of Sciences who had not been used to full advantage, went to Siguiqing Village in the outskirts of Beijing to open "Beijing Sitong Company," a collective enterprise. He and several young and middle-age scientists and technicians, with their brand-new ideas and business methods, started their computer application service. In 2 years, without any state investment at all, this company earned more than 100 million yuan and paid 10 million yuan for various taxes.

"How do you encourage more intellectuals to run enterprises in the countryside?" I asked.

He replied: "It is mostly a matter of policy. In the past, we mainly relied on government decisions in the assignment of scientific and technical personnel and government cadres to the countryside to assist the localities in popularizing technologies and organizing production. This method was certainly necessary and should be continued now. However, we still have to create a kind of policy environment to attract the intellectuals to the

countryside where they can run enterprises and become managers, factory directors, or engineers."

When I asked him to be more specific about policies, he said: For example, if the intellectuals of any research organizations, universities or specialized colleges, and industrial or mining enterprises are willing to leave their posts for the countryside, they should not be obstructed. Their residential registration can remain unchanged if they so wish, in which case, they can continue to occupy their houses. They should be permitted to help the people become rich, and to become rich themselves. Their earnings from the development of technologies and the operation of their enterprises are rightfully theirs. As long as they pay their taxes according to regulations, there should be no interference from any unit or individual whatsoever. The banks and the government can help them solve the problem of funds in the way of loans or stock shares. When they are appointed, they can buy stock shares or raise money for the enterprise in some other way. They should also be permitted to use their technologies as their "principal" investment, and own a certain proportion of the stock shares. In addition to their salaries, they can also share the dividends.

Comrade Song Jian reaffirmed the policy of permitting some intellectuals to become rich ahead of others. He said: Permitting some intellectuals to help peasants become rich and to become rich themselves is entirely compatible with the principle of "distribution according to work done." This policy was laid down several years ago. Because of the trouble from old concepts among some cadres, some twists and turns were encountered in its implementation, and some people have suffered from injustice. However, the situation will certainly continue to improve.

Comrade Song Jian was full of confidence in the reform measure of encouraging intellectuals to run enterprises in the countryside. He said: "The policy is now more distinctive, and the criterion for judging between right and wrong is more clearcut. I believe that once the "spark plan" gets started in the development of rural and local economies, more and more intellectuals will go to the small and medium-size cities or the vast countryside."

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EDUCATION COMMISSION OFFICIAL DISCUSSES ADULT EDUCATION

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 46, 17 Nov 86 pp 28-29

[Article by Zou Shiyan [6760 2514 3508], vice chairman of the State Education Commission: "Promote Adult Education in Reform"]

[Excerpts] Adult education is an important component of China's educational undertaking. Lifelong adult education is one of the symbols of modern civilization.

During the sixth 5-year plan China's adult education has been rapidly restored and developed. The broad masses of cadres, workers, peasants, and youth waiting for jobs have an unprecedentedly high enthusiasm for sparetime study, and various forms of sparetime study and training are improving the ideological, ethical, scientific, and cultural qualities of the broad masses of current work forces. At present, institutions of higher education for adults (not including ordinary institutions of higher education) have over 1.72 million students and schools of secondary education for adults have over 820,000 students. The Central Broadcasting and Television University has enrolled a total of 1.64 million students in the past 7 years and graduated a total of 610,000 students in 4 school years. In the past few years, over 11,000 people of 15 disciplines have passed the college equivalency test for independent studies and received state-recognized college diplomas, and a total of about 2.5 million certificates of accomplishment for individual studies have been issued. The cumulative number in attendance at the trainings of staff members and workers throughout the country approaches 100 million. Rural anti-illiteracy campaign has also achieved definite results.

How should we develop adult education during the seventh 5-year plan period? In an article entitled "Do a Good Job in Television Education and Promote Open Education," Comrade Li Peng answered this question: "At present and for some time to come, we should shift the work focus of adult education to on-the-job training and develop adult higher education and adult secondary vocational education in a planned manner. Such education should promote the combination of study and application and the practice of studying for the purpose of application and concentrate on sparetime studies which do not require employees to leave work. At the same time, we should vigorously carry out post-college continuous education and gradually establish an adult education system which is in diversified forms, rich in contents, coherent with before-

job vocational education, and linked to general education." This is the basic guiding principle for the development of our adult education in the future.

Considering on-the-job training as the work focus of adult education is a shift of strategy with far-reaching significance.

First of all, doing a good job in on-the-job training is needed for the four modernizations and the situations of reforms and the open-door policy. With the gradually in-depth development of the reform of economic structure and the guided and planned unfolding of the reform of political structure in China, a new labor employment system and cadre appointment system have begun to go into effect and a series of changes have occurred or are occurring in the pattern of labor employment. Therefore, the quality of laborers is bound to become the key factor in increasing competitiveness and economic results. As a result, this sets a new, still higher demand on adult education. Only through on-the-job training can we change the intelligent structure of laborers, improve their labor skills, and enable them to become better qualified for and more competent at the job.

Second, doing a good job in on-the-job training is needed for strengthening education in professional ethics and promoting the progress of socialist ideology and culture. Professional ethics is an important content of professional standards. On-the-job training should of course include professional ethics education for trainees. These two things are united. They cannot be separated and conducted individually.

Carrying out on-the-job training is a relatively new task. Because its contents are fairly complex and involve many areas, it needs the full cooperation of all departments concerned. It should be carried out in a planned and step-by-step manner on the basis of experimenting with pilot units after working out professional standards and detailed rules and regulations for carrying out the training. For this, efforts must be made to make a success of reforms in the following areas:

1. Change old concepts and establish the new concept of lifelong education. In the past, when people talked about education, they usually interpreted it as the credit-earning education of ordinary schools and their understanding of adult education was usually restricted to literacy classes and "making up missed lessons." This kind of old concept is no longer suited to the needs of the development of situations. Lifelong education is a symbol of modern civilization. Along with the rapid development of society and the day-by-day progress of science and technology, not only less educated people should continue to study, but even highly educated people, including those who have obtained higher academic degrees and higher-level jobs, should also continue to supplement and replace their knowledge with new information. Only when a good job is done in lifelong education, can we take up the challenge of the new technological revolution and make the Chinese nation independent in the forest of nations in the world.

2. Reform the school management styles, teaching contents, teaching methods, and management systems of adult education. In light of the characteristics of adults, we must implement the principle of "teaching in accordance with



demands, combining study with application, and studying for the purpose of application," and persist that one should study whatever his job requires and make up whatever is missed. Even in adult credit-earning education, it is also necessary to combine study with their own work and increase students' abilities to carry out their duties at work.

3. Reform relevant labor and personnel systems and arouse adults' enthusiasm for study. The previous state labor and personnel system concerning adult education played a definite role in arousing adults' enthusiasm for study, but it also had some defects. In order to meet the needs of adult study, from now on, we should establish the systems of issuing certificates for completing all courses under a department, all courses required by a specialized study, or individual courses and for meeting the requirements of individual jobs to make the specialized subject in adult studies match the work he does and better combine study with application. At the same time, in order to adhere to the principle of focusing on on-the-job, sparetime, and independent studies, it is necessary to formulate a policy to encourage people to become a useful persons through independent study.

4. Reform the leadership and management system of adult education. The main target of China's adult education is over 300 million people, involving many fields. Besides, the differences between different industries and levels are so great that it is impossible to control, manage or invigorate the work by relying only on a certain department or by adopting one model. We must arouse the enthusiasm of all fields, especially local governments and employment offices at all levels. The central government, the State Council, and the State Education Commission should mainly formulate major principles and rules and regulations, strengthen overall coordination and guidance, and use the method of indirect control to render better service for grassroots units.

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RURAL 5-GUARANTEE HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 3 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] Guaranteeing food, clothing, lodging, medical care, and a burial to the rural aged, handicapped, and orphaned who have no one to depend on nor labor ability nor a source of income is the five-guarantee system created during China's agricultural cooperative period. Currently, China's rural areas have 2.57 million five-guarantee households, consisting of 3.03 million persons; 2.56 million persons receive five-guarantee benefits; and 289,000 aged persons reside in 25,612 rural old folks' homes.

Since the 1983 national census of five-guarantee households, five-guarantee work has made additional progress, fully embodying the superiority of the socialist system. It is of important significance in building the two civilizations.

The increase in the number of old folks' homes has been fairly rapid. Their total number throughout the country in 1985 showed a growth of 22.7 percent over 1984, and the number of residents 19.9 percent. The growth in Shandong, Anhui, Shaanxi, Jiangsu, Hebei, and Henan has been relatively fast. Currently, old folks' homes are found in villages and towns in Jilin, Beijing, Heilongjiang, and Ningxia. Throughout the country, over 300 counties have such homes in all villages and towns. The material and cultural lives of residents have been generally improved.

Next, the method of supply has been reformed, and the five-guarantee work is gradually becoming systematized. Today, 514 counties throughout the country follow the practice of overall planning by villages, thereby safeguarding supply. Yunnan, Hebei, Guangdong, Hunan, Shanxi, Tianjin, Beijing, Jiangxi, Henan, and Hubei have successively published provisional regulations on five-guarantee work and effectively promoted the fulfillment of the supply policy.

Jilin, Liaoning, Hebei, Henan, Hunan, Jaingsu, Hubei, and Jiangxi have, in practice, created five-guarantee service networks and organized and mobilized village (town) organizations of various levels and social strengths in the overall management of the food, clothing, lodging, medical care, and burials of residents of rural old folks' homes and scatered five-guarantee households. The various areas have also generally established and strengthened small groups of basic level cadres to take charge of five-guarantee households and render an overall service, thereby solving the problem of care as well as supply.

'IN DEFENSE OF HUMANISM' REVIEWED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Yi Ren [0122 0086]: "Appealing to the Subjective Consciousness; Reading 'In Defense of Humanism'"]

[Excerpts] Why does Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055] so persistently and stubbornly defend humanism?

Only to heal the wounded and rescue the dying in hospitals and for the humanitarian treatment of jail inmates and prisoners of war? To protect women, children, and the aged? To help orphans, widows, and the handicapped? . . . Yes, all these are obligations under humanism. Nevertheless, it is more than that. In his preface, the author clearly declares that his defense of humanism is "for the very purpose of awakening the sense of the subject."

When we say "respect others," more than respect expressed in courtesy, we primarily refer to the basic, that is respect for the value of man, not just as a species or a colony, but also as an individual. "The free development of each individual is the condition for the free development of all men" ("The Communist Manifesto"). One may likewise say that the full achievement of individual value is the condition for the full achievement of the "value of man" as a whole. Naturally, the achievement and development of individual value and the building and expression of the subjective consciousness cannot possibly come and go by themselves apart from society, nor must they damage society's public good. However, rationally achieving individual value will be greatly conducive to the prosperity and progress of society. In the absence of vital "individual activities," there will be no vital society.

Man seeks first survival, next warmth, and then development. These can be called the three stages of social progress. To enable more people to develop their own vitality, mental capacity, imaginative power, and creativity, and to enable each and every individual to find his own niche in the broad arena of society and actively participate in society with his own vitality and sense of mission, namely, to make the "value of the self" of more people attain full achievement and development, mean the emergence of a higher level of socialist humanism. Though it cannot be accomplished overnight, we should advance toward it--at least we should not block others from doing so.

The author bluntly defends the rationality of the "value of man" and analyzes the phenomenon and cause of its suppression. Yet he has not explored the historical background of the profound and lasting traditional culture and people's deep-rooted cultural and psychological structures. Wang Yuanhua [3769 0337 0553] declared in a recent essay: "Traditional concepts in China's culture stress the standardization and restriction of commonality over individuality and overlook the latter, using social ethics to reject the self, forming a whole set of rigid ideological patterns and ethical and moral norms, and thereby depriving individuality of the subjective consciousness. . . . However, true, living creativity is found in individuality forming the colony. The subjective consciousness without individuality has no creativity. Under certain specific conditions, in the absence of individuality breaking through commonality, there is no development or evolution." The exposition is extremely profound, and one can thereby understand why the building and expression of the subjective consciousness encounter so many obstacles.

Even so, I still admire the author's "appeal," because not every theoretician has such sincerity and courage.

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'ASSESSMENT OF "THE THIRD WAVE"' REVIEWED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese 25 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Li Ke [0500 2688]: "A Review of 'Assessment of 'The Third Wave''"]

[Text] Upon publication of the Chinese translation in 1984, of American sociologist, Toffler's "The Third Wave" (hereinafter referred to as "Wave") created a sensation, and the number of copies issued was impressive. Assessments varied, both pro and con.

Three years ago a famous activist Smith of the international communist movement suggested the book to this writer, and I read through the original New York edition and the Chinese translation twice and gained much enlightenment and broadened my field of vision. However, I also felt deeply that Toffler's views are open to question. Last December a symposium was held on a correct assessment of the book. At the meeting, many renowned experts, scholars, and professors eagerly expressed their views. In the writer's opinion, the book is in essence a history of social development according to the author's interpretation. By means of his own world outlook, he recapitulates human history, explores the present, and prays for the future of his mind. His basic standpoint is poles apart from Marx's. He replaces the materialist concept of history with the wave concept, and casually repudiates, in the romanticist language of "The Three Waves," the Marxist theory of social formation. He lashes out at both capitalism and socialism, seemingly placing them on a par. However, is obviously biased toward capitalism, feeling that scientific and technological revolution alone will readily solve the various contradictions of the capitalist system and even "reconcile" the two systems. He predicts that a wonderful new era will emerge. The era is naturally not that of communism, but an extremely attractive so-called "utopia."

That the book has aroused such wide interest is not incidental. The author's numerous bold conceptions on the impact of the scientific and technological evolution on the social life of mankind are helpful in broadening our field of vision and enlivening our thinking. The information provided in the book can serve us as a reference in policy-making, and some of the author's concepts can enlighten us in our modernization cause. He maintains, for instance, that developing nations can select one or more items among world technological breakthroughs compatible with their own existing and mature technologies to

bridge and reduce the gap between today and tomorrow. Though not placing his hope in communism, he is after all optimistic about the future of mankind. Imparting faith in life, instead of the pessimism about man's imminent perdition, the book leads us to ponder and look to the future.

Nevertheless, Toffler's book as a whole poses serious challenges to Marxism. Some of our graduate students highly extol his view, praising it as the most accurate thinking and believing that Marxism is already outdated.

With this background, Gao Fang [7559 2397] and five others, upon request by the Modern Man Series, completed "The Assessment of 'Wave'" with 200,000 plus words. It provides a biography of Toffler, brings up the issue of how to make an overall assessment of his book, analyses his world outlook and methodology, criticizes his view of capitalist and socialist societies and his concept of the future, and points out the misinterpretations made by some Marxists. In addition, the authors also include excerpts of statements at symposiums pertaining to "Wave," for the purpose of briefing readers on the various views of experts, scholars, professors, and well-known figures. They specially provide supplemental translations of passages, and words, and phrases omitted in the Chinese translation. I feel that people who have read "Wave" will be interested in reading this assessment.

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CAUSES OF ECONOMIC CRIMES DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAXUE [JURISPRUDENCE OF CHINA] in Chinese No 6, 9 Nov 86  
pp 29-35

[Article by Xie Baogui [6200 1405 6311]: "Characteristics and Causes of Economic Crimes Today"]

[Excerpts] Economic crimes are a new form of lawless acts generated by the continuous development of society's productive power, especially the rapid development of the commodity economy.

In recent years, accompanying the continuous growth of our socialist economy, especially the socialist commodity economy, some criminal elements are using this period of "opening up to the outside" and "enlivening the domestic economy" to take unfair advantage of the economic reforms. They raise the banner of "reform" and "enliven" while engaging in all kinds of economic crimes. There has been a significant increase in economic crime cases, especially in the past 2 years, and the scope of these crimes, the amount of money involved, the kind of dirty trucks used, and the extent of damage done have far surpassed the worst phenomena since the liberation. In 1985, there were a total of 28,759 economic crime cases investigated and handled by the procuratorates at all levels throughout the country; this represents a 30 percent increase compared to 1984, and it includes a 1.9-fold increase in major cases and more than 7-fold increase in very critical cases. In 1986 economic crimes were still on the increase: in the first quarter, the procuratorates at all levels investigated and handled 11,617 cases nationwide, which was 1.3 times more than in the same period in 1985; the number of major cases increased 6.3 times, and very critical cases multiplied 31-fold.

From the above statistics we can see that today's economic crimes are indeed a serious problem. They are the kind of crimes resulting from our efforts to develop our socialist commodity economy, our policies to open up to the outside and to enliven the domestic economy, and our attempts to restructure the economic system. They represent a form of class struggle in a new historical era. This struggle will be a long, complicated, and formidable process. We must maintain sharp vigilance and must not take this situation lightly.



## I.

Our nation is in the midst of a major transformation, and the restructuring of the economic system is gradually taking shape. Economic crimes too have changed in comparison to past practices, and there are new phenomena and new characteristics. The more distinct manifestations are as follows:

A. There has been a change in the targets of economic crimes. In the past, most crimes were aimed at personal property, but today they are mainly aimed at the properties of the country, the collective, and the integrated economic groups. Today, the criminal elements are bolder and greedier than ever; they use illegal methods to make money and get rich. Xian procuratorate analyzed 25 extra-critical economic crime cases which caused a total of over 10 million yuan in losses. Only 20,000 yuan of that amount consisted of personal property, which the rest were state and collective properties. Among the 119 larceny cases analyzed by the Guangdong provincial procuratorate, 99.3 percent of the money defrauded as public property. As for corruption, smuggling and trafficking, tax fraud and tax evasion, black market foreign currency trading, and other crimes, they are especially targeted at state properties.

## B. Principal Characteristics of Economic Crimes

1. A large majority of the participants in economic crimes are government cadres and public employees who have official duties. They abuse the power in their hands and collaborate with the criminal elements to participate in various economic crimes and reap illegal incomes, causing serious harm to society. In 1985, of all economic crimes investigated and handled by the procuratorates, 57.9 percent involved government workers and public employees on official duties. In Fujian Province the investigation and handling of the case of Du Guozhen [2629 0948 2823] revealed that a total of 170 million yuan were acquired through speculation and profiteering, another 60 million yuan by means of fraud, and 20 million yuan through smuggling; among the 20 defendants, more than half were government cadres.

2. Some lawless foreign businessmen as well as Hong Kong and Macao businessmen take advantage of our policy of opening up to the outside and gang up with the criminal elements here at home, and their criminal activities are on the increase. In Guangdong and Fujian, some 20 percent of the cases investigated and put on record by the procuratorates involve foreign businessmen or Hong Kong and Macao businessmen. More than 80 percent of these lawless businessmen are expatriates who have left the mainland for Hong Kong or Macao since 1979; they have limited capital and little credit, and in order to reap exorbitant profits they collaborate with the criminal elements in the mainland to participate in crime. The major cases involving foreigners generally fall into four categories: (1) Government officials in their everyday business contacts make use of their official capacities and signal for "payoffs" and solicit bribes; or there are many cases where the foreign businessmen initiated payoffs in cash or in kind to bribe government workers so that they in turn could enjoy illegal profits in their business deals. For example, in the recent case of Zhang Changsheng [1728 1602 0524] and Ye Zhifeng [0673 0037 2800], they were in collusion with foreigners and Hong Kong and Macao businessmen to leak important national secrets, and for that they received over

700,000 yuan in bribes; they did severe damage to the country. (2) A few foreign businessmen, Hong Kong and Macao businessmen, and workers in our public and private enterprises are in cahoots with one another to take advantage of the most favored treatment policy in the SEZ's and economic development zones; they engage in import processing, joint ventures, or reciprocated trade in name while in fact they take part in smuggling and trafficking. (3) Individual foreign businessmen or Hong Kong and Macao businessmen take part in speculation and profiteering, fraud, and other crimes after they enter the country. Last year, there were three consecutive larceny cases in Shenzhen which involved Hong Kong businessmen, and as much as \$3 million were taken. A lawless Hong Kong merchant used a business card as a credential to pose as the president of a certain international corporation; he defrauded more than 30 units in 5 provinces, luring them into signing automobile and color television importation contracts worth over 200 million yuan. (4) Some criminal elements from abroad use foreign bank credit cards fraudulantly, some take large sums of cash advances, while others use counterfeit cards and invalid credit cards to obtain large sums of cash before leaving the country.

3. Some people who have previous records of crime have resurfaced to become the principal characters in economic crimes. These people are good finaglers, they are great pretenders, they have "what it takes to make money," and often they are thought of as having "real abilities"; they are hired by companies and trade centers as managers, directors, or company officers. They carry the banners of "reform" and "enliven" while they engage in economic crimes. Among the 134 people in the recent larceny cases investigated by the Guangdong procurate, 41 persons, or 30.6 percent, were previous inmates in reform-through-labor and reeducation-through-labor organs. In Chengdu, all eight members of the "backbone of business administrations" chosen or appointed by an economic development company had previous records of corruption, fraud, speculation and profiteering, and other serious crimes. Within less than 6 months the company lost over 3 million yuan because of their corruption and mishandling of company funds.

#### C. Criminal Activities Take on the Following Distinct Characteristics:

1. A major characteristic of today's economic crimes is the phenomenon of people using their official duties and their jobs as a convenient means to commit economic crimes. In 1985, about 60 percent of the economic crimes took place within the financial, food grain supply, sales and marketing, commercial, construction, foreign trade, and other systems. The crimes are mainly in the following forms: a few credit officers in the financial system embezzle funds, falsify loans, or authorize loans for themselves to obtain huge sums of money; others who handle properties pilfer and misappropriate the state's properties. A few criminal elements in the grain supply system take advantage of the differences in grain prices, misrepresent parity-price grains as bargain price grains, and turn bargain price grains into surplus grains, cheating the state of large sums of subsidy payments while they divide the profits among themselves; others take advantage of the government-sponsored civilian grain stockpile system and other food procurement arrangements and collaborate with

people inside and outside the system to engage in corruption and theft. A few criminal elements in the construction system take advantage of project-contracting and building material procurement arrangements and take part in bribery or in speculation and profiteering. The criminal elements in commerce and marketing profiteer on major productive resources restricted from free trade by the state, or they raise the prices and reap exorbitant profits on commodities in short supply; some give or take bribes in their procurement activities, or they market poor-quality or counterfeit goods. In foreign trade, some criminal elements abuse their authority and deliberately make things difficult for others, or they create all sorts of obstacles as a means to extort payoffs; some collaborate with lawless clients to acquire money and goods. A few leading cadres are lacking in business knowledge and skills; they often abuse their power and neglect their duties while doing business, causing the state to suffer huge economic losses.

2. A novel characteristic under the new conditions is the phenomenon of economic crimes committed under the signboard of state organs or in the name of legal entities; their perniciousness far exceeds the crimes committed by individuals.

During one state, swarms of party and government organs and cadres take up business and enterprise operations, and among them a few criminal elements use the signboard of state organs and take advantage of the fact that state organs have a good reputation, substantial influence, and abundant capital assets. They collaborate with other criminal elements in society to commit economic crimes, and they embezzle or mispend public funds. Typical examples of crimes committed by enterprises run by the state organs are: the well-publicized case of the Aerospace Department's Guangyu Company, which attempted to smuggle 180,000 sets of color televisions, and the recently disclosed case of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fishery's Chinese Agriculture and Integrated Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial Enterprise, which engaged in acts of arbitrage, including U.S. \$55 million worth of foreign currencies, 700 automobiles, 4,600 tons of steel, and 2,000 sets of color televisions.

During another phase, all kinds of "companies," "trade centers," and "warehouses" were formed, and more than a few of these setups are in fact "three-without companies" that aim to make exorbitant profits by taking advantage of the "reforms." In 1985, 50 percent of the major cases investigated and put on record involved crimes committed in the name of legal entities, and all the major fraud, smuggling, speculation, and profiteering cases which involved over a million yuan were carried out under the name of a certain "company" or "trade center." In Guangdong's Fushan City the major crime figure Liu Haoran [0491 3185 3544] used the names of the "Chinese International Technologies Development Company, Yantai Branch," the "Hong Kong American Mercantile Sino-American Company," the "Sino-American Hong Kong Company," the "Chinese-American Joint Stock Company, Ltd.," and so on; he posed as a supplies contractor, defrauded 88 units in 17 provinces and cities, and signed more than 100 contracts. Liu cheated these units out of more than 19.7 million yuan. These economic crimes committed under the name of legal entities have caused the state and the collectives to suffer severe economic losses.

## II.

Today, we are fully committed to the restructuring of our economic system and are in the midst of a transition between the old and the new economic systems. During this time there are many complicated factors contributing to economic crime activities, but some comrades have concluded that ultimately they are attributable to class struggle. This is indisputable. However, it is not enough to emphasize class struggle in analyzing and explaining today's economic crime phenomena. Instead we should concentrate our analysis on the relationships in our material life and from the point of our economic basis in our search for the causes of economic crimes. The seriousness of our economic crimes nowadays, according to this writer, are caused by the following factors:

A. One of the main reasons for economic crimes is the corrosive influence of capitalistic ideologies and lifestyles which accompany the development of our socialist commodity economy. Experience has proved that the development of a socialist commodity economy is an unavoidable phase in establishing socialism, but we should be able to see that the producers and traders of socialist commodities naturally take part in the economic activities to enrich themselves by using the various formats of the commodity economy. At the same time a few criminal elements will also take advantage of those conditions to engage in economic crimes.

We should be able to discern that under the conditions of a socialist commodity economy, and in order to earn more money, we have not eradicated the capitalist concept of profit before everything and have not eliminated the spawning ground for economic crimes. At one time we neglected our ideological and political tasks, neglected the construction of our spiritual civilization, and instead overemphasized material gains and indirectly cultivated the tendency toward "anything for the sake of money." This is the main cause for the growing number of economic crimes in our country today.

B. In restructuring the economic system, we failed to promulgate laws and regulations promptly and suitably, extending the opportunity for the lawless elements to engage in crime. Today, crimes which make use of gaps in the economic reforms and the loopholes during the transitional period between the old and the new systems have become more distinct and more prominent. Ninety percent of the major cases handled by the Jilin procuratorate in 1985 were crimes which made use of the gaps and loopholes in the reform process. These economic crimes are mainly manifested in the following ways: 1) In restructuring the pricing system, because of swollen demands and the effect of supply and demand relations, there are increasing differences between various prices, and these generate the opportunity for speculation and profiteering. 2) In restructuring the market economy, the number of major productive resources allocated under the state plan has been reduced from 256 varieties to 23 varieties; many critical productive resources are now regulated by market conditions, and because the supply-demand equilibrium has not been reached, people engage in the buying and selling of productive resources and in the resale of goods and material quotas, contracts, and bills of lading,

to reap exorbitant profits illegally. 3) In banking and credit reform and the reform of financial administrations, some criminal elements take the opportunity to obtain huge loans fraudulantly and participate in all kinds of illegal activities. Some engage in the resale of accounts and in foreign currency arbitrage; others embezzle funds, squander money, or default on loans. These acts cause the state to suffer serious losses. 4) In leadership restructuring and the strengthening of horizontal relationships, many "companies" and "trade centers" have become multi-regional, multi-provincial, and multi-city operations, and their assets and credits are difficult to verify. Some criminal elements use various forms of contractual agreements to carry out larcenous acts. 5) In tax reform, with the implementation of the tax-for-profit system, some enterprises and economic integrated bodies or individual households resorted to all sorts of deceptive means to hide their profits, transfer their assets, and engage in tax fraud and tax evasion. Thus we can see that taking advantage of the restructuring of the economic system is the main form of economic crime.

C. The leniency of the law and lack of law enforcement are also major factors contributing to the seriousness of today's economic crimes. Often economic crimes are erroneously treated as unhealthy tendencies, gross negligence of duties is treated as bureaucratic behavior, and crimes committed by legal entities are treated as errors in policy implementation during reform. Lawless elements who commit economic crimes which should be handled as criminal offenses are often made to pay only economic restitution; those who deserve to be penalized according to the law are only disciplined by the party or the administrations, and as a result many criminal elements go scot-free. One smuggler publicly declared that "I can be fined five times, but if I succeed once, that will make up for everything." Crimes committed by legal entities are some of the most serious economic crimes today; the damage they do to our national construction and our economic reforms are 1,000 times more serious than those caused by ordinary people. Just because the crimes committed by legal entities do not "line the pockets of private citizens" we tend to indulge the most serious criminal elements. Failure to treat economic crimes seriously is distinctly demonstrated by lenient laws and lack of enforcement. In handling economic crimes the judicial organs tend to lean toward light sentences; they may waive prosecutions, exempt punishments, or give suspended sentences, and some give light sentences even to serious offenders. For example, the manager of Sichuan's Tianfu Farm Motor Vehicles Industry assembled, sold "Jiefang" brand gas and diesel trucks using the "Diyi Automobile Factory's" brand name, and made a profit of 600,000 yuan; the guilt of trademark counterfeiting was established, but the defendant was only fined 1,000 yuan.

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## COLLEGE STUDENTS' VIEWS ON STREET DEMONSTRATIONS

## Views of Jiangxi University Students

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 p 2

[Article: "Eight Students of Jiangxi University Sent Message to Fellow Students: Cherish Unity and Stability"]

[Text] When the news of the recent street demonstrations by college students reached Jiangxi University, thousands of teachers and students conducted their heated discussions. Eight journalism department students talked to our correspondent yesterday, and expressed the hope that their fellow students, who are demonstrating in the streets, would cherish the excellent situation of unity and stability.

Student Ding Yu [0002 3768] said: The eight of us, like all other young people, are concerned for our state's future and our national destiny. We were at first excited by the news of some college students demonstrating in the streets. After thinking about and discussing it calmly, we reached the same conclusion: Although it cannot be denied that certain unhealthy tendencies are running counter to socialism in our society, these tendencies should be corrected through political reforms. Party rectification and the development of socialist spiritual civilization are precisely the effective measures for this purpose. Our party has already set its mind on these tasks. If we want to accomplish them overnight under a sudden impulse, we can never succeed.

Student Chen Hao [7115 6275] expressed his views on the way to advance socialist democracy. He said: Building socialist democracy, like all political reforms, is a gradual process with twists and turns as well as resistance. Therefore, we must have patience and sustained energy in advancing socialist democracy step by step. Reaching the goal in one step would be sheer fantasy.

Speaking of the need to cherish the excellent situation of unity and stability, students Zhang Shi [1728 1716], Liu Ou [0491 2952] and Wang Wanzhou [3769 8001 3166] said: Reforms require an environment of political unity and stability, and this environment is even more indispensable to political structural reform. Now some fellow college students are demonstrating in the streets. This is not the proper way.



Students Shen Zilong 3947 1311 7893], Long Xurui [1776 3843 7893], and Li Haizhu [2621 3189 3796] also told the correspondent their views. They said: As youths of the new age, we should be concerned for the state's future, the prosperity of the nation, and the progress of the reform.

#### Views of Shanghai Students

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jan 87 p 3

[Article: "Street Demonstration Not Advisable as a Means to Extensive Democracy"]

[Text] On the early morning of 22 December, a student of Jiaotong University in Shanghai issued an "urgent appeal," calling on the demonstrating students to think carefully of the consequences of their action. He said: We should sit down calmly and refrain from aggravating the situation. Then quickly following on the same morning were more than 10 announcements in response to this appeal. The students of Jiaotong University, Fudan University, and the Chemical Engineering College had their afterthoughts.

The direct cause of these afterthoughts was the disturbances and disruptions by people with ulterior motives. As soon as the news of some unscrupulous elements overturning two motor vehicles in front of the municipal government mansion at the bund and some undesirable elements molesting women were heard, the representatives of several universities immediately withdrew from the movement. On their return to Huadong Chemical Engineering College, the student representatives told the school leadership: "We have been deceived. Our activities are to cease right here."

After their sober reflections on what had happened, the students began to be aware that the street demonstrations would, contrary to their original expectation, make things worse instead of accelerating the development of democracy. The students of the Chemical Engineering College in a meeting held to discuss democracy on 22 December said: China's democracy and freedom have to go through a process of development. Like a baby in the mother's womb, they should be born naturally, and we should not take any drastic action.

The students recounted what they had heard in the demonstrations and assemblies to the effect that there were actually some people impersonating students in clashing with and attacking the police with the intention of creating untoward incidents. They said: Demonstrations cannot be used as a means to democracy.

In another university, our correspondent found some students openly urging everyone to be vigilant against the pitfall of Red Guards. This was by no means alarmism. The students now in universities had not taken part in the "Great Cultural Revolution," and would not easily appreciate the advice that they should take some lesson from the "cultural revolution." However, their older brothers had witnessed the 10 years of turmoil, and the final outcome of the Red Guard movement left a deep impression. More important still, from the events noticed in the past few days, they became aware that seeking extensive



democracy would be fraught with serious consequences, because they could be taken advantage of by people with ulterior motives. Some school leaders told our correspondent that although this point was not yet understood by the majority of students, the fact that some of them did understand it should be a blessing.

Young students have active minds. Many of them have thought over the whole course of events and gained a more mature outlook with the help of the school leadership, their teachers, and their guardians. Since 22 December, the situation of most institutes of higher learning in Shanghai has returned to normal, and the students are reviewing their lessons for their examination.

9411

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## SHANGHAI STUDENTS CRITICIZE HIGHER EDUCATION, SUGGEST REFORMS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by reporter Zhang Xuequan [1728 1331 0356] and correspondent Yang Deguang [2799 1795 1639]: "Students of 10 Universities in Shanghai Make 4 Suggestions for the Reform of Higher Education"]

[Text] The Student Department of the Shanghai Bureau of Higher Education recently surveyed 4,000 students in the forms of questionnaires and forums on the issue of higher education. Students think that there are four major defects in current higher education and made suggestions for the elimination of these defects.

A total of 4,000 questionnaires were distributed in this survey and 3,959 copies, were returned. Most of them mentioned the four defects of teaching work. They are: 1) rigid teaching methods; 2) backward testing methods; 3) teaching theory being divorced from reality; and 4) outdated teaching materials and irrational curricula.

The 4,000 students of this sample survey are studying at the Fudan University, the Shanghai Normal University, the Shanghai Medical University, the Shanghai S&T University, the Shanghai Finance and Economics University, the Shanghai Textile University, the Huadong Normal University, the Shanghai Urban Construction College, the Shanghai S&T Specialized School, and the liberal arts school of Shanghai University. After they filled out the questionnaires, students were invited to forums to air their views. They thought that eliminating as soon as possible defects in current education is the main task for the reform of higher education and that only by adopting effective measures can we guarantee the improvement of teaching quality and bring forth talented and competent people as soon as possible. For this, they made several suggestions for educational reform:

1. Reform the forced-feeding method of teaching. Some students said that many teachers now repeat what the book says in the classroom and their teaching is rigid, inflexible, divorced from reality, boring and cannot enlighten students' thinking. Some students said that at present, it is very necessary for universities to work on the style of studying and teaching, focus on improving teachers' professional standards and lecturing skills, strive to improve teaching methods, and make lectures more interesting.

Students demanded more time for independent study and suggested that teaching materials, printed copies of teaching materials, and reference books should be distributed to students to be studied on their own. They also suggested that students with better grades should be permitted to be absent from class and given credits as long as they passed independent study examinations.

2. Reform outdated teaching materials. Most students mentioned that some teaching materials currently used for higher education are already outdated and unable to catch up with the tempo of the development of modern sciences. For instance, computer technology is being replaced very frequently and some obsolete computer teaching materials which should have been replaced a long time ago are still being used. Part of the teaching materials used for political and theoretical courses, including party history and philosophy, are repetitions of high school courses. A lot of the contents of the teaching materials used for the course of freshman English are repetitions of high school courses. Students urged that efforts should be made to revise teaching materials as soon as possible and replace old contents with new so as to catch up with the tempo of the development of modern science and technology.

3. Reform the "academic style of training." Currently, students have many complaints about the isolated "management of school behind closed doors." They said: "The present style of training might turn students into book worms." They have a strong desire to go out the school door to develop their abilities. Students at the Fudan University and the Huadong Normal University suggested the school create conditions for students to have more contacts with society and reality. For instance, going to factories and research institutes to learn on the job, study during a field trip, or do labor and carrying out investigations in society within their specialized fields of study are all conducive to the training of the ability to gain live knowledge. These students mentioned that it is necessary to be open and not closed even when doing ideological work. Present ideological education remains on campus. Students should be allowed to identify themselves objectively from the angle of society, straighten up their position in society, and increase their sense of social responsibility.

4. Reform the examination system which emphasizes grades instead of abilities. Many students mentioned that the current method of examination can only encourage students to memorize books. It can only test students' memory but not their analytical and problem-solving abilities and guide them toward the direction of seeking grades but not abilities. They thought that there are too many examinations which are hard to handle; therefore, it is impossible for them to learn many really useful things. They suggested that schools should use oral exams, quizzes, discussions, and tests of practical abilities in addition to written examinations in order to help students develop in an all-around way and make it easy to measure a student's level in an all-around and comprehensive manner.

12302

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## STUDENT OPINION SURVEY RESULTS REPORTED

Beijing JIAOYU YANJIU [RESEARCH IN EDUCATION] in Chinese No 11, Nov 86  
pp 77-78

[Article by Yang Deguang [2799 1795 1639]: "Survey Reveals Strong Desire for Extensive Knowledge Among University Students"]

[Text] From November 1985 through May 1986, we posed four questions in the form of a questionnaire to 8,959 students at a dozen institutions of higher education in Shanghai: "What do you think are the characteristics of university students today?" "What is your strongest desire at present?" "What is your most vexing problem at the moment?" and "What is currently your greatest concern?" More than a dozen student forums were also held revolving around these four questions. Survey results show that there are three most urgent needs among university students today.

1. A strong desire to seek knowledge and become a useful person. Asked "what do you think are the characteristics of university students today," 39.6 percent of the students answered, "seek knowledge and become a useful person," the most popular of six choices. Asked to name their "strongest desire," 34.9 percent wrote, "seek knowledge," the second most popular of three alternatives. Asked "what is currently your greatest concern?" 45.9 percent chose, "broaden field of learning," which was selected by more people than any of the other eight choices. (Each respondent was allowed to pick two or three choices.) It is thus obvious that "seek knowledge and become a useful person" is university students' most urgent need and desire. Some students say, "Make resolutions, become a useful person, and struggle" should be the theme in the life of a modern university student."

Modern university students define the standards of the "three-good" student very differently than those in the past. No longer do most seek to emulate the "three-good" student, obedient, docile, and academically excellent. Some students say, "Right now we are in an age of reform and innovation. We must seriously face up to a future that is ever-changing and full of challenges. That is the only way we can accomplish the important task of the times and live up to the party's call." Many university students realize that in the new situation, obedience and good grades alone do not a useful person make. In response to our question, "What do you think is the image of a good student?" 53.3 percent of the students, who were each allowed to select two

out of six choices, replied, "ability to study creatively" and 41.1 percent chose "extensive social contacts, strong social skills." Only 1.8 and 5.3 percent chose "obedient" and "the three-good student," respectively.

More often than not, students' desire to "seek knowledge" manifests itself in an urgent need to "broaden their field of learning" and acquire wide-ranging comprehensive knowledge. Some students are experiencing a "hunger for information." Influenced by all the publicity about "knowledge explosion," "knowledge obsolescence," and the "shortening of the lifespan of knowledge," they come to believe that book learning is useless since it will be dated after 5 years. Hence their enormous appetite for new knowledge, lots of it. They want to understand everything, lest they would fall behind. In their own words, "People lacking information are a new kind of illiterate. They are looked down upon and lack standing among fellow students. On the other hand, well-informed people with extensive knowledge are popular." To obtain the latest information, some students spend large amounts of time on extra-curricular reading. From the ancient to the modern, from Chinese to foreign, from literature and history to philosophy and arts...they all want to browse through, thus neglecting their proper studies.

2. A strong desire to cultivate and develop skills. In response to the question, "What is your strongest desire at present?" 49.4 percent answered, "acquire skills," which was selected by most people. Asked "what is the image of a good student?" 41.4 percent said, "extensive social contacts, strong social skills," the second most popular choice out of a total of six. Many university students consider the future society a "meritocracy" where people with skills will come out on top. University students "should first equip themselves with skills related to the mastery, use, development, and renewal of knowledge. In other words, the skills to study on one's own, the ability to analyze and solve problems, and the abilities to draw conclusions and innovate." The reason is this. If a person can study independently, he can absorb new knowledge constantly. If a person can roll up his sleeves and get things done, he can readily adapt to the needs of his work. If he is at ease in social intercourse, he can bring about a new situation in no time. Asked what skills "a qualified university student should have," some students gave three to four answers, although they were asked to name just two; they thought the skills were that important. To more than half the students, the most vital skills are "the ability to study and conduct scientific research on one's own" and "social intercourse, the ability to organize and manage." To cultivate and develop their skills, university students are adopting a variety of tactics.

One is by becoming a student cadre. In contrast to the outdated reluctance to serve as cadres in the past, many students now take part in election activities, make election speeches, and put forward "political platforms." Some even demand that there be a "cadre rotation system" to give everybody a chance to be trained.

The second approach is to participate actively in all kinds of extracurricular, community, and scientific activities, study or interest groups, and photographic activities. Most institutions of higher education in Shanghai have one to two or three dozen extracurricular organizations, all run

and managed by students themselves. One reason why students take part in their activities enthusiastically is to step up social contacts and interpersonal intercourse, do more social work, and hone their social skills.

The third approach is to actively participate in work-study programs. There is a strong demand among university students for such programs, with over two-thirds of the students applying at some universities. Those who were not accepted because of lack of connections were very disappointed. University students take part in work-study programs to "come into contact with and understand society" (26.6 percent) and "cultivate social skills and temper their willpower" (34.4 percent), for a total of 61 percent.

A fourth approach is to develop one's skills in recreational activities. Not content with spending their time between the three places--"classroom--bedroom--cafeteria," modern university students want a rich diversified life. Most students have hobbies and want to enrich their lives after school. Dancing, bridge, tennis, weiqi, guitar, traveling, stamp-collecting, music, fiction reading, movies (television, video cassette recorder) have become the 10 most popular extracurricular activities among university students. "Substantiate and enrich the image of university students, and make oneself a 'multifaceted' person so that in the future one can gain social recognition and secure a foothold for oneself." We asked 1,922 students in a questionnaire what their favorite forms of entertainment were. Apart from reading fiction and magazines, which is popular among most students, dancing, poker, chess, ball games, instrument-playing, and stamp collecting also have a large following. Many students hope to pick up some social skills through extracurricular and recreational activities. "Dance fever" is now passe among university students. The reason is that they learned dancing only to meet future social needs. Once they acquired the skill, they turned to other things.

At present quite a large portion of institutions emphasize classroom instruction at the expense of extracurricular activities, grades at the expense of skills. It is highly questionable whether these colleges allocate enough time, funds, and space for extracurricular activities, a situation students have been very critical of. In response to the question "What is your most vexing problem at present?" it should be noted that most students selected "boredom after school," the most popular of six choices. In our survey, about 30 percent of the students revealed feelings of loneliness. They said that weekends and holidays are the most depressing times. This has something to do with too few group activities and boredom after school.

3. A strong demand for reform. The overwhelming majority of students support the national policy of reform and opening to the outside world and oppose isolationism and closing the country to international intercourse or going in for economic construction in isolation. They are pleased with and encouraged by China's rapid economic growth and significant increases in people's earnings in recent years. Their greatest concern now is teaching reform because this represents a basic way to seek knowledge, acquire skills, and become a useful person. They are deeply dissatisfied with the slow progress of teaching reform. At the beginning, some students looked forward to reform full of hope and put forward suggestions most enthusiastically. The slow pace



of reform and the rejection of their suggestions, however, made them lose confidence. "It has nothing to do with me. It is no use making suggestions." Some students say, "Teaching reform, teaching reform. It is really no reform." As a matter of fact, students are bursting with ideas, some of them very sound ideas. We asked 3,959 students in our survey, "What do you think are the shortcomings in higher education today?" and allowed them to select 3 out of 13 items. They were most critical of "rigid teaching methods," which was the choice of 40.7 percent of the students, compared to 30 percent for "outdated examination methods," 35.6 percent for "dull lectures," and 30.7 percent for "theory and reality being divorced." Apart from the questionnaire, we also held several forums to listen to students' opinions on teaching and reform. They can be grouped into four areas.

1. Reform the spoon-feeding method of teaching. Some students say, "The classes of many university teachers are monotonous and dull. They simply read from the book, are out of touch with reality, and neglect to guide or inspire students to think actively." Others say, "We need to improve study habits, but we must also tackle teaching style at the same time. The basic issue now is to upgrade teachers' professional standards and improve teaching methods." They demand that more time be allocated for independent study and suggest that students be provided with teaching materials, notes, and reference books. Permission should be given to students with good grades not to attend classes. They should be given credits upon completing assignments and passing examinations.

2. Reform outdated teaching materials. A lot of teaching materials at institutions of higher education were compiled before the 1970's and in many cases are obsolete and fail to keep pace with modern scientific development. Some students say, "Computer technology changes rapidly. Existing teaching materials must be updated or replaced. Teaching materials for political theory courses duplicate those at secondary school level to some extent, as do English teaching materials at the freshman level. It is a widespread student demand that "teaching materials be revised to bring them into close touch with the real world so that we can master even more new and practical knowledge."

3. Reform the "academic" style of teaching. A considerable number of students are critical of the way schools are run "in isolation from the world." They say, "The present style of teaching can only turn students into bookworms." "Schools must not lock us up in ivory towers. They should let us come into contact with society more often through work or on-the-job training in factories and research institutions, for instance, or by conducting social investigations." Some students say, "Universities should allow students to deepen their understanding of knowledge and have their zeal for learning fired through social practice." Others say, "They should also open up ideological education instead of isolating it. They should let students understand themselves objectively and correctly from the social perspective, know their place in society, and enhance their sense of social responsibility." Asked "what is currently your greatest concern?" 37.8 percent of the students said it is leaving school and entering society, the second most popular choice among nine alternatives.



4. Reform an examination system that emphasizes grades at the expense of skills. Most university students say that the present examination system encourages students to memorize what is in textbooks and classroom lectures. It only tests a student's memory and evaluates his academic performance by his examination results, with no consideration for the quality of examination questions. It leads students into pursuing grades and ignoring skills. Some students say, "Currently there are too many tests and examinations, which tire us out everyday. We really learn very little." The majority of students believe examinations are necessary. They suggest that "examinations be diversified in form and not be limited to closed-book tests. There should be a combination of oral examinations, quizzes, discussions, and skills to measure a student's true standard all around."

12581

CSO: 4005/257

## ZHEJIANG PARTY, STATE LEADERS HOLD TALKS WITH STUDENT CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Wang Xuexiao [3769 1331 1321] and Gao Haihao [7559 3189 3185]: "Zhejiang Party, Government Leaders Held Heart-to-Heart Talks With Student Cadres for Better Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] The party and government leaders of Zhejiang Province and Hangzhou City have separately invited student cadres from 16 institutes of higher learning for heart-to-heart talks on the current situation and the work of these institutes. The exchange of views between the leaders and the students has increased their mutual understanding.

On the afternoon of 29 December 1986, Wang Fang [3769 5364], secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee; and Li Dexing [0632 1795 7451], standing committee member of the provincial party committee and secretary of the Hangzhou City CPC Committee, and other provincial and municipal leaders held separate discussions with the cadres of the CYL, the students' association, and the graduate students' association of Zhejiang University, Zhejiang Agricultural University, Hangzhou University, and Hangzhou Teachers Training College.

The party and government leaders of Zhejiang Province and Hangzhou City told the students cadres: We understand the students' desire to accelerate the reform, and have taken protective measures for the students demonstrating in the streets some days ago. However, we do not agree with them on so-called "extensive democracy." The lesson we have learned from the 10 years' of turmoil is too painful to be forgotten.

Many student cadres frankly told the leaders what they had in mind. They said: Most of us are not in favor of the street demonstrations. Even those who participated in the demonstrations, now, on second thought, consider them improper. The student cadres held that contemporary college students are all concerned about the reform, but are not well aware of its complex and arduous nature. They are eager to join others to get something done, although their ability is not equal to the task. They dare to think, but cannot think deeply enough. The student cadres of Zhejiang University, Zhejiang Agricultural University, and Zhejiang Industrial College said: In recent years, many fellow students have conducted social surveys and actively participated in the

practice of reform and production at the basic levels, in the course of which they have demonstrated their ability and wisdom, become aware of their own value, and learned about the arduous task of upholding the four cardinal principles and carrying out the reform. These activities are also a form of practical and effective ideological work. For various reasons, however, some departments and units did not appreciate or support them. Governor Xue Ju [5641 7467], who was present, said that the provincial government would immediately issue a document calling on the party organizations and governments at all levels to pay attention and give support to the students' well-intentioned activities. Zhejiang's Provincial CYL and Provincial Students' Federation have also sent circulars to all institutes of higher learning in the province with the request to organize the students for wholesome social activities during the winter vacation, so that they may better understand the national and social conditions and contribute their capability and wisdom accordingly. It was also requested that commendations or rewards be given to the schools and individuals that have given outstanding performances.

During their discussions, the student cadres also mentioned the poor facilities for teaching and daily living in some schools. The party and government leaders of Zhejiang Province and Hangzhou City candidly told them what the governments at all levels had done for education and the difficulties actually encountered. The party and government leaders of Hangzhou City pointed out that in 1986, the educational funds spent on the universities and specialized colleges in the municipality exceeded 10 million yuan (capital construction investment not included), a 34.5-percent increase over 1985. This amount showed the great effort made by Hangzhou in view of its limited local revenues. After listening to the leaders' explanation, many student cadres expressed their appreciation of the government's position and hoped that mutual understanding and confidence would be further strengthened in the future.

9411

CSO: 4005/293

## ANHUI PROVINCIAL FORUM ON ECONOMIC, PARTY DEVELOPMENT

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 86 p 1

[Excerpts] The Anhui Provincial CPC Committee recently on different occasions held two separate forums on party building in Liuan Prefecture and Xuancheng County. Attending the forums were party committee officials of 16 prefectures and cities, 12 counties, and some large enterprises from throughout the province and directors of organizational departments of various prefectural and city CPC committees. Participants at the forums carried out serious and thorough discussions of such issues as how to change ideological view points, further strengthen party building, and better accelerate the development of economic construction in Anhui Province. Lu Rongjing [4151 2837 2529], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, attended and spoke at the forums.

Lu Rongjing pointed out: In accordance with the overall layout--"one center and three persistence's"--set forth by the "Resolution Concerning Guiding Principles for Socialist Cultural and Ideological Progress," party committees at all levels in Anhui Province should better organize and guide the broad masses of cadres and people in unswervingly carrying out all-around reform, further implement the principle of opening to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy, insist that both material and ideological progress should be promoted, accelerate the tempo of socialist modernization in Anhui and let the people become rich as soon as possible.

He said: The purpose of strengthening party building is to adhere to and improve party leadership. Party leadership is mainly political, ideological, and organizational leadership. Party committees should concentrate their energies on studying and implementing party lines, principles, and policies and on conducting ideological and political work, support the broad masses of people in learning to be their own masters, expand socialist democracy, perfect socialist legal system, carry out extensive and close cooperation with non-party members, arouse all positive factors, continue to push economic construction forward, and guarantee that the general tasks and targets of the party will be fulfilled.

Lu Rongjing emphasized: We must correctly handle the dialectical relationship between economic construction and party building and closely rally around economic construction to do a good job in party building. The practice that separates economic construction and party building and treats them as two different things is incorrect.

Lu Rongjing also pointed out: In order to build party organizations at all levels in our province into the strong nucleus for the leadership of socialist modernization, our party must exercise control over the party and make a success of it. First of all, we must initiate a voluntary change in ideological view points. For instance, we should discard some outdated old concepts and gradually explore and find a new road in regard to the guiding principle of party building, the method of party leadership, the education of party members, the evaluation of work done by party branches and vanguard and exemplary roles played by party members, and the development of party members. Second, party committees at all levels should really pay attention to their self-improvement and party secretaries first must take up this heavy responsibility, conduct research and investigation, do a good job in typical cases, exercise categorized guidance, continue to study the new situation, and solve new problems as soon as they popped up. Third, while strengthening the education of party members in ideals and principles, conscientious efforts should be made to carry out education in cultural and S&T knowledge and administrative and management knowhow to improve party members' qualities in an all-around way and help them master the new skills of modernization and better exercise their vanguard and exemplary role. In rural areas, party members should dare to be the first in working hard to become rich and lead the masses in reaching the goal of common prosperity. In plants, factories, and enterprises, party members should vigorously engage in reform, correctly handle the relationship between the state, collective and individual, and vie to become advanced in production and management. In organs and institutions, party members and party-member leading cadres should be strict with themselves, be honest in performing their official duties, adopt a comprehensive point of view, render good service, and set a good example. Fourth, it is necessary to conscientiously strengthen the building of the grassroots organizations of the party and use the result of this work as an important target for judging whether party committees at and above the county level have lived up to the demand that "the party should control the party." The building of party branches in some rural areas, organs, neighborhoods and "window" units which give direct service to the masses, in particular, is a weak link and is all the more necessary to be strengthened.

Liu Guangcai [0491 1639 2088], standing committee member of the provincial CPC committee and director of the organizational department, also attended the two forums.

12302

CSO: 4005/229

## RURAL PARTY CONSOLIDATION DISCUSSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] Shandong's village level party consolidation work has been successfully launched. On 17 October, Comrade Yang Xingfu [2799 5281 1381], spokesman of the provincial party standing committee and party consolidation office, answered our reporter's questions pertaining to village level party consolidation.

Question: What is the basic guiding ideology for the current village level party consolidation?

Answer: Promoting reform and economic development is the basic guiding ideology of the current village level party consolidation. In conducting ideological education and solving problems in the ideology, work style, discipline, and organization of rural party organizations and members, we must uphold the principle of benefiting the intensification of rural reform, the improvement of rural productive forces, the growth of the rural commodity economy, and the full development of the peasants' productive enthusiasm. In village level party consolidation, we must keep in mind the need to protect the enthusiasm of the vast number of party members in pursuing reform and innovation and in leading the masses to get rich, eliminate the obstacles to reform, guarantee the implementation of party policies, and promote the two civilizations. In terms of all issues involving major policies, especially those which cannot be decided for the time being, we must take a cautious attitude, promptly seek instructions, and guard against acting on our own. In inspecting the quality of rural party consolidation, the most important criterion is whether it guarantees and promotes reform and economic development.

Question: What are the main problems to be solved in the current village level party consolidation?

Answer: Mainly we must solve the problems in four areas: 1) We must improve party members' understanding of the necessity to develop commodity production, and solve the disharmony of ideology and work with commodity production. In the current party consolidation, we must integrate the implementation of the party Central Committee's 1986 Document No 1 and the essence of the provincial rural economic work conference. By means of education in the various policies

pertaining to rural reform and the commodity economy, we must guide party members to purge the "leftist" influence, eradicate the small production concept, and establish the commodity production concept. On the basis of improving understanding and in conjunction with the practical conditions of local areas, we must consider and formulate measures and programs on further developing commodity production and enlivening the rural economy. We must teach party members to stand on the forefront of reform and lead the masses to common prosperity. 2) We must conduct education in party spirit and the party's basic purpose, and correct the indifference and poor examples of some party members in serving the people. In the current village level party consolidation, we must devote considerable time to organizing party members to study and systematically conduct their education in the party's basic purpose, membership criteria, and ideals, discipline, and the legal system. By means of education, we will comprehensively improve the political and ideological qualities of the vast number of party members, thereby implanting in them the idea of serving the people heart and soul, strengthening their party spirit, and enabling them to play pioneering and exemplary roles in building the two civilizations. 3) We must earnestly investigate and prosecute the serious cases of party members and cadre using power for private gain and violating law and discipline, and further rectify party style. We must focus on salient cases arousing strong complaints among the masses, investigate and rectify the problems of an unhealthy party style, and combine education and earnest investigation and prosecution with strengthening the systems. 4) We must strengthen the building of rural party branches and earnestly solve the problem of the party paying no attention to itself. We must make different demands on different party branches. In terms of the good and fairly good party branches, we must focus on review and improvement; in terms of ordinary ones, we must locate the main problems affecting their work and their relations with the masses and solve the problems upon discovery; when it comes to the relatively backward ones, we must assign cadres to help them reorganize and make the necessary organizational readjustments. By means of party consolidation, we must build rural party branches into truly powerful forces in leading the masses in promoting the two civilizations.

Question: Please discuss the correct interpretation and implementation of the principle of "solving problems but avoiding chaos."

Answer: We should primarily place our foothold on solving problems and expose contradictions without fear. As contradictions exist objectively, the more we cover up and fear to look squarely at them and solve them, the more easily they become chaotic. If we dare to take the initiative to solve them, we will avoid chaos. Naturally, when solving problems while managing the party strictly, we must master policies, give attention to the ways and means, and seek truth from facts. We must uphold the principle of giving priority to positive education and self-education. In regard to party members making mistakes, we must follow the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," guard against exaggerating problems to the higher plane of principles, holding struggle meetings, and extorting confessions, and watch out for and eliminate clan



contradictions and factional interferences. I believe that as long as we master these principles, we will be able to solve problems without creating chaos.

Question: Roughly what are the phases in the current village level party consolidation? How long will it take?

Answer: It consists of three phases: 1) Study and education; (2) comparison, inspection, and centralized rectification and; (3) organizational handling and membership registration. As a whole it will take approximately 3 months to complete them.

Question: What is the main substance in the study and education phase? What are the main forms?

Answer: The study and education phase will be started immediately and may be appropriately extended. The main substance of study is: the party Central Committee's decision on party consolidation, the Central Party Consolidation Guidance Commission's circular on rural party consolidation, the party constitution, the party Central Committee's 1986 Document No 1, pertinent speeches of leaders of the party Central Committee and Central Party Consolidation Guidance Commission, and the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th party Central Committee on the guiding principle of building socialist spiritual civilization. The study of the resolution must thread through and be properly combined with the entire course of party consolidation. In this phase, we mainly focus on three items: 1) Party lectures on special subjects. In giving party lectures, it is advisable to take villages and towns as the units or divide them up for mass lectures, and prepare a number of special subjects from the teaching materials on party consolidations. Leaders of county and village and town party committees will divide the labor in lectures. Party branches will study and discuss, combine discussions of party lectures with the study of select documents, and simultaneously study, discuss, investigate, and correct. 2) Education by means of typical instances. Village and town party committees must commend and publicize good basic-level party members and cadres of all types. 3) Educational activities. We will, in line with local conditions, organize and launch flexible, diverse, and vivid educational activities, such as lectures by veteran party members on traditions, reports by heroic and model figures, movies, plays and exhibits of an educational significance, visits to tombs of revolutionary patriots, and heart-to-heart talks. We must give priority to systematic party lectures, interspersed with other activities. In short, we must have definite purposes in view when solving problems.

6080/13104  
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## BRIEFS

SHANGHAI'S DIVORCE RATES--According to statistics of the civil administration department, in the months of January through June this year, more than 1,500 registrations for consent divorces were approved in Shanghai, showing an increase of 47.2 percent over the same period last year. Some noteworthy tendencies have emerged in marital registrations, mainly reflected in consent divorces: 1) Younger in age--two-thirds of the registrants are under age 35; 2) short duration of marriage--one-fourth of divorce registrants have been married for less than 2 years, and some as short as 2 months; 3) poor premarital emotional foundation--more than one-fourth of hasty marriages end in hasty divorces; and 4) third-party participation--slightly more than one-fourth involve the outside interests of either or both parties. [By Cheng Zongshu [4453 1350 2873] [Excerpts] [Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 19 Oct 86 p 4] 6080/13104

CSO: 4005/157

## GUANGXI COLLEGE STUDENT DEBATES REPORTED

Nanning GUANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Chen Wengang [7115 2429 0474] and Wang Gang [3769 6921]: "Debate Meetings Greatly Inspired College Students"]

[Text] In the evening of 20 November, Guangxi Nationality College held an "invitational debate contest among liberal arts college students." This meeting was the first of its kind in this college as well as all universities and specialized colleges in Guangxi.

The meeting was scheduled to be held at 7:30 pm in the third-echelon classroom with 160 seats in the Chinese department. Our correspondents arrived 10 minutes earlier, and found the classroom already filled to capacity. Even the space beyond the windows and the corridor leading to the opposite classroom were full of people. The meeting had to adjourn to the college auditorium which has 1,500 seats. The auditorium too was later filled to capacity. Many students had to sit on arm-rests, and even the aisles were full of people. The secretary of the college CYL was moved to say: "This is really beyond our expectation." Many students said: "This kind of meeting should be held once a week. We would rather give up our dance parties."

What a stirring scene! Why? According to the college leadership, the students of the last few terms were particularly fond of controversial topics, and frequently held their discussions in the dormitories, sometimes until midnight. In fact, numerous minor "debate meetings" had been held in the college. This year, an elective course on "public speaking" was introduced in the Chinese department, and many students, including even those of other departments, rushed to join this class. Not long ago, the college brought in a videotape showing the decisive match in a debate contest among the students of universities and specialized colleges in the Asia-Pacific region. From this tape, the students saw how their fellow students of Beijing University defeated the students of the Chinese University in Hong Kong because of their eloquence and superior academic knowledge. They were itching for action, and debate meetings were held one after another in the classes and the departments. Now, the meeting of the liberal arts students of the Chinese department was the occasion to satisfy their ardent desire to assert themselves and to test their strength on controversial issues. This was the reason for the unprecedented turn-out.

On this occasion, the topics of debates was about the pros and cons of college students looking for their own employment, the work-study program, and love affairs in college life. The students were perfectly free to air their views which were quite innovative and covered a wide range of issues. Above all, they had the courage to talk about themselves. The basic tone of the debates was healthy. On the question of university students looking for their own employment, for example, many students said emphatically: "University students have high ideals and aspirations, and are willing to contribute everything to the prosperity of the motherland."

This unprecedented turn-out in the debate meeting shows that college students are by no means indifferent to politics or unwilling to improve themselves ideologically; the reverse is the case. What they hate is the same conventional style of teaching and the same insipid way of learning. This tendency fully reflects the self-confidence, the vitality, and the courage of self-analysis among contemporary college students. These students regard debate meetings as a good way to increase their knowledge, self-confidence and courage, and these qualities are indispensable to them when they will be out in society. A female student of the political departments, the winner of the championship, said: "Formerly, everyone called me an immature girl, and I truly considered myself useless. Tonight, I feel that I have certain power. It has increased my self-confidence." Many participants at the meeting had the same feeling.

After the debates, many students also became aware of their own shortcomings, such as their limited knowledge, their inactive minds, and their weak logical power. One of them said: "I now have a fresh idea of myself."

It was already 11 o'clock when the meeting ended, and the students left with seeming reluctance. It was a restless night for the college, because minor "debate meetings" continued everywhere.

9411

CSO: 4005/285

## COMMENTARY ON PARTY RECTIFICATION AT VILLAGE LEVEL

Nanning GUANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 86 p 1

[Commentary: "County Party Committees Must Concentrate Their Efforts on Party Rectification at Village Level"]

[Text] After its basic conclusion at the township and town levels, party rectification is now gradually developing at the village level. All county party committees should treat party rectification at the village level as an important matter and attended to it carefully.

Guangxi has a huge number of rural cadres. These cadres, with their fairly low cultural level, are thinly spread out and have little opportunity to learn. They are not well organized, and are profoundly influenced by feudalism and small-scale production mentality. Furthermore, according to the former practice, party organizations were free from party control. All these factors have led to many problems in ideology, work style, organization, and discipline. These problems must be solved carefully. If party rectification cannot be accomplished at the village level, it will be difficult for Guangxi to fulfill its task of party rectification as a whole. Village party organizations are the basic-level organizations of the party in the countryside. "There are thousands of strings above but only one needle below." All the rural work of our party and state, in the final analysis, has to be carried out and completed by the party organizations at this level. The function of basic-level party organizations in providing leadership and guarantee, and the role of their members in setting good examples are particularly necessary for various rural reforms, and for developing a commodity economy and promoting the two civilizations.

In short, party rectification at the village level is of great significance in promoting the two civilizations, the reforms, and the economy in the countryside, and in bringing about a fundamental improvement of the party style and the social conduct, and consolidating political power at the basic level.

The key to success in village party rectification lies in the active leadership of the county party committees. The secretaries of these party committees must personally attend to this job, and the leaders concurrently in charge of it should carefully attend to the details. As shown by the

developments in the villages, the rectification is proceeding fairly well wherever the county party committees have given it undivided attention; otherwise, the rectification would be conducted merely as a formality. This problem is now receiving the serious attention of some county party committees. However, the leaders of some county party committees, including even those specially in charge of this work, still lack a singleness of purpose. The causes of this phenomenon are many, but the ideological indifference toward party rectification in the countryside and the failure to set strict demands on it are among the important ones. Furthermore, some leaders are holding too many concurrent posts and spending too much time in meetings. That is why they cannot concentrate their efforts on party rectification.

The county party committees must attend to the work of party rectification at the village level with concentrated efforts. First, they should take a keen interest in this work, get rid of various incorrect notions, and set right the guiding thought. As required by the CPC Central Committee and the Regional Party Committee, they should bear the overall responsibility and concentrate their efforts in guiding the village party rectification so that it can be accomplished on schedule and with high quality standards. In line with the principle of division of work between the party and the government, priorities should be set for all jobs in the countryside according to their relative urgency. There must also be division of work among the leading members according to their specialties. All other jobs should be closely coordinated with party rectification, if they must be completed within the same period. The lack of such coordination will easily lead to chaos and waste of time and effort, and the rural party rectification will become a perfunctory affair.

The leading organs at or above the prefectural level should provide the necessary facilities for the county party committees to carry out the village party rectification with concentrated efforts. If the autonomous region or the prefectures desire to hold any work conference, such conferences can be attended by the comrades of the departments concerned, and not as a rule by the leading comrades of the county party committees. At the same time, the leading comrades of the county, township, and town party committees should not be organized for inspection visits to other places during the time of party rectification at the village level. Only thus can they actually provide active leadership and ensure the success of the village party rectification from the beginning to the end.

9411

CSO: 4005/285

## BRIEFS

YOUNG WORKERS CAUTIONED ABOUT EXCESSIVE COMPLAINTS--Xiao Ping [2556 1626] and Sun Zhi [1327 2535], coauthors of a commentary in Zhengzhou HENAN RIBAO in Chinese, 17 December 1986 page 1, remark that they often hear complaints while chatting with young factory workers. According to the authors, they love to complain about their duties, factory management, and ideological study. And young workers also feel they have been ignored and that they would do better if given opportunities. While agreeing that management does not entrust young people with enough responsibility, the authors suggest that young factory workers can now enrich themselves through correspondence school education. The authors also recommend that factory management turn its attention to available talent within their own organizations rather than recruit personnel elsewhere, thus giving their workers more opportunities. Nevertheless, Xiao and Sun warn that excessive complaints will only result in disappointment. Young workers of the 1980s should be wise enough, they assert, to know how to express their opinions through the proper channels and to assist leading cadres by diligently performing their duties. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 4005/342



## NANKAI UNIVERSITY STUDENTS DISCUSS STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jan 87 p 1

[Article by Lu Xigui [4151 6932 3802] and Zhu Yuquan [2621 3768 3123]: "Democratic Freedom Does Not Mean Freedom for Street Demonstrations and Big Character Posters"]

[Text] Some students of Nankai University pointed out: Democratic freedom does not mean freedom for street demonstrations and even less for big-character posters.

Liu Bing [0491 0365], a student of the 1984 management class, said: Today, 1 billion Chinese people are devoting their efforts to the four modernizations. This is the most important political task in China now. Any word or action that is detrimental to the four modernizations would actually jeopardize the interests of 1 billion people.

Chi Kuanguang [6688 1402 1639], a student of the 1982 law class said: Some people think that street demonstrations and big-character posters are the expressions of democracy and freedom. These people have only a superficial understanding of democracy and freedom. Judged from a Marxist viewpoint, law and freedom are inseparably interrelated. If the society has no law and criminals are free to go on a rampage, what democracy and freedom can there be?

Liu Weiqun [0491 4850 5028], graduate student of the 1984 Chinese class; Yang Xiaolin [2799 2556 7792], student of the 1984 law class; and Yao Hong [6460 1347], student of the 1983 history class said: The historical mission for contemporary college students is to study science and culture diligently and to enhance their political consciousness in order to help China make its flying start. They must have a good knowledge of science and culture and the lofty ideal of serving the people before they can exercise their democratic rights more fruitfully.

9411

CSO: 4005/293

## REPORT ON PUNISHMENT OF FUSHUN CADRES

## Travel Expenses Padded

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] The three groups going overseas to make observations, discuss joint ventures, and undergo training sent by Fushun's textile industry seriously violated foreign affairs discipline, committed fraud, and privately divided up foreign exchange money. The main offenders were punished according to party and government discipline.

Upon invitation, Fushun's textile industry, in the spring of last year, simultaneously sent three groups overseas. Members of the groups included Xu Shourang [1776 1343 6245], vice mayor and member of the municipal party standing committee, Xu Qianzhi [6079 0467 2534], party group secretary and chairman of the foreign economics commission; Yuan Ding [5913 0002], chairman of the municipal government research office; Li Xuezan [2621 1331 6363], chief of the Bank of China, Fushun branch; Wu Jingyou [0702 2529 4368], manager of the municipal textile corporation; and Gao Mingquan [7559 2494 3123], director of the Fourth Woolen Textile Mill, a total of 16 persons, including 7 cadres at the bureau level and above. Xu Shourang served as adviser to the observation group. Going to the same destination at the same time, the three groups seriously violated foreign affairs discipline during the period of observation and training. To get more foreign exchange for the purchase of "major items," they disregarded national and personal integrity, resorted to fraudulent means, openly asked foreign businessmen to submit phony bills, covertly demanded foreign exchange from them, and, by lying about tips, obtained foreign exchange for private division. Xu Shourang discussed with Xu Qianzhi, Wu Jingyou, and Li Xuezan time and again the subject of "using miscellaneous public funds for souvenirs." Thus, at the time of account settling prior to returning to China, the accounting personnel of the groups openly asked foreign businessmen to "make up some bills as miscellaneous charges," which were submitted by them upon their return as part of their expense accounts. On just this one item alone, the three groups defrauded the state of \$1,240-plus in foreign exchange. Meanwhile, they falsified gratuities, amounting to \$1,660-plus in foreign exchange.

During the period of observation and training abroad, they failed to pay for food and beverages owed to foreign businessmen, obtained foreign exchange by

fraud to buy "major items," and bought without authorization controlled commodities. In violation of state regulations, they accepted suits and numerous other gifts from foreign businessmen.

Upon completing their observation and training, the three groups decided on their own to make a detour and deliberately prolonged their stay abroad beyond the time limit. By so doing, they not only changed the itinerary, added more observation stops, and exceeded the time limit, but also wasted much foreign exchange. Their detour cost \$9,900-plus in foreign exchange, including \$3,500 in hotel expenses.

Their practices seriously violated foreign affairs discipline, disgraced themselves and the nation, and created an extremely detrimental political influence for the party and the state. For this reason, the Fushun party committee, with the approval of the provincial party committee and discipline inspection commission, took the following actions: It decided to permit Xu Shourang to keep his party membership under supervision for 1 year and suggested his dismissal from the post of vice mayor, and it dismissed Xu Qianzhi from the post of foreign economic commission party group secretary and suggested his dismissal as commission chairman. It decided to punish Wu Jingyou, Li Xuezan, Yuan Ding, Gao Mingquan, and He Tiechen [0149 6992 810] according to party and government discipline. At the same time, it ordered the seven individuals to refund all the foreign exchange obtained by them. In regard to the remaining nine party members and cadres in the three groups, it instructed the party organizations of their units to conduct critical education and ordered them to repay the public money improperly spent.

#### Commentary On Discipline

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "New Cadres Must Give Attention to Their Own Conduct and Respect Themselves"]

[Text] The group of party members and cadres violating foreign affairs discipline recently uncovered in Fushun City included both veteran and new cadres. Utilizing the opportunity of their overseas trip, they sought personal benefit, performed deeds detrimental to their personal morals and national integrity, and failed to live up to the expectations of the party and the people. Their conduct was truly reprehensible in light of party and government discipline.

In the course of fulfilling the "four requirements" on leading groups, Liaoning, which is the same as all areas throughout the country in recent years, replaced the old with the new and assigned a large group of new cadres to leadership posts of various levels to shoulder the heavy burden. In building the two civilizations, the new cadres have performed outstanding work. Dedicated to their duties, boldly forging ahead, and courageously tackling unhealthy tendencies and evil practices, most of them have made contributions to the four modernizations program.

Nevertheless, in terms of a handful of cadres among them, their political quality is poor and their self-interest strong. They regard the great trust placed in them by the party and the people as the means to obtain personal benefits. The moment they receive an official title, they immediately display their wealth and show their arrogance. Instead of valuing their careers, they impatiently pursue personal gain. Xu Shourang [1776 1343 6245] was one of them. As a member of the Fushun municipal party standing committee and vice mayor, he should have, during the overseas trip, served as a model in observing foreign affairs and financial and economic discipline and completed the assignment of making observations and undergoing training abroad, but it turned out otherwise. He took the lead to violate discipline and damaged national integrity! Upon joining leading groups, new cadres must have a sober understanding and high awareness, correctly employ and exercise the power granted by the party and the people, and always serve as the people's public servants.

The discipline violations by the three groups traveling abroad also tell us that cadres sabotaging party style and violating party discipline must be earnestly prosecuted. Party discipline serves as a guarantee to the implementation of the party line. Comrade Hu Yaobang declared: "the moment they are promoted, some new cadres immediately throw their weight around, perpetrate outrages everywhere, use power for private gain, and become morally degenerate. They must be dismissed and punished." Our party does not tolerate privileged members violating party discipline. Restraining and educating party members and cadres who violate law and discipline are a guarantee to the success of the party's cause. The mistakes of Xu Shourang and others have again illustrated that new cadres who join leading groups must not slacken in the least bit the demands on themselves, and party organizations of various levels must also strengthen their education and supervision and enable them to continue to improve themselves in the course of performing their work!

#### Liaoning Issues Circular

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 86 1

[Article: "Liaoning Party Committee Issues Circular Demanding Crackdown on Unhealthy Practices in Foreign Affairs Activities and Earnest Prosecution of Discipline Violations"]

[Text] In regard to the serious violations of foreign affairs discipline by the three groups sent on an overseas trip by Fushun's textile industry, the Liaoning provincial party committee issued a circular, demanding that party organizations of all levels take effective measures and firmly curb the unhealthy practices in foreign affairs activities.

The circular demands that all units use the incident as a negative example, launch an education in foreign affairs discipline, and teach the vast number of party members and cadres, especially leaders, to recognize fully the

importance of party, government, and the legal disciplines in the new historical period, consciously observe party discipline and state law, honestly perform their official duties, and serve as leaders in the socialist modernization program.

The circular demands that all areas and units earnestly strengthen foreign affairs discipline, make earnest inspections and reviews of personnel sent on overseas trips since last year, publicize the advanced, rectify the undesirable phenomena, and solve the existing problems. The departments in charge of examination and approval must strictly follow the system and firmly put an end to the practices of sending personnel overseas out of special considerations, taking purposeless trips, making repetitious observations, and wasting manpower and money. In case of unfavorable consequences resulting from negligence, the responsibility of the persons in charge of examination and approval must be investigated and affixed.

The circular stresses the necessity of earnestly investigating and prosecuting major and important violations of foreign affairs discipline. Whether involving organizations or individuals, violations must be thoroughly investigated upon discovery, and offenders subjected to disciplinary actions or charged with criminal responsibility according to the circumstances. Personnel obtaining financial advantages must return their illegal gains, and offending leaders must be strictly punished.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### PEOPLE'S ARMED POLICE ORGANIZATION, FUNCTIONS

Taipei CHUNGKUNG YENCHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 2, No 11, 15 Nov 86 pp 100-108

[Article by Ch'ang T'ai [1603 3141]: "The Chinese Communist 'People's Armed Police'--the Force on Which Hu Yaobang Relies To Achieve His Plan for Succession"]

[Text] Internal news from the mainland says: Hu Yaobang in many aspects is strengthening his control over and expanding the power of the "People's Armed Police" [PAP] in preparation for elevating the PAP to tip the balance over the principle armed force, namely, the "People's Liberation Army," and then to achieve his plan for succession with the help of the PAP. The background to certain actions of Hu's are highly similar to that of Wang Hongwen's [3769 3163 2429] in those years when he couldn't get the support of the communist army and so "organized contingents of the militia in a big way." Therefore, the trends in the past year concerning the PAP are drawing a lot of attention from various quarters. The special purpose of this article is to provide certain interrelated materials for reference on trends in the PAP's organization, training, and equipment.

#### I. The Predecessors of the PAP and the Process of Reorganization

In 1949, after the Chinese communists usurped authority and set up their bogus regime, they imitated the Russian secret agent organization by setting up "Public Security Troops." In 1954, following the reorganization of the bogus "Government Administration Council," they were changed to the "Public Security Force," which existed simulataneously with the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Air Defense Force as one of the "five big branches of the armed forces." In 1958, the Chinese communists' armed forces were streamlined, and the "Public Security Force" was reorganized as the PAP. In 1966, during the "Cultural Revolution," to smash the "public security troops, procuratorates, and courts," Mao Zedong incorporated the "public security troops" into the communist army's alignment, changing it to "independent divisions" in various provincial military districts. In 1976, the "Cultural Revolution" ended, and the "independent divisions" in various provincial military districts were reorganized as the "Border Defense Armed Police." Due to the policies of the "open door" and the "invigoration of the domestic economy," which the Chinese communists put into practice in 1979 the internal disorder on the mainland

intensified, and it was coordinated with the communist army's "streamlining and reorganization" in recent years and the need of its internal factions' seizure of power. On 5 April 1983, the Chinese communists announced that the former units on "internal guard sentry duty" had been merged with the PAP, "People's Border Defense Armed Police," and "Fire Control Police" of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions on the mainland to make PAP a component part of the public security departments. At the same time, a PAP Headquarters was set up in Peiping as the highest leadership organization of the PAP on the mainland. On 31 May 1984, the Second Session of the Chinese communists' Sixth "NPC" passed a "new military service law" that elevated the position of the "PAP," making it one of the three large armed forces along with the communist army and the militia. In January 1985, the Chinese communists transferred some units of the "Capital Construction Corps," which had been dissolved in 1983, to PAP command. In June 1986, the Chinese communists announced a cut in the military of 1 million men, and turned over its "Border Defense Units" to PAP. The number of men in "PAP" is now quite large, with its total force being about 1 million men.

## II. Organization and Mission of PAP

### A. Survey of the Organization

At present the Chinese communists have set up in each of the 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions on the mainland a "PAP zongdui," and under the zongdui are zhidui, dadui, zhongdui, fendui, and squads. As of September 1986, the Chinese communists had set up 29 zongdui, 565 zhidui (regiment level), and 1,029 dadui (battalion level) of PAP. (Footnote 1) (LIAOWANG August 1985) The PAP is under the dual leadership of the Chinese communists' "Central Military Commission" and "Ministry of Public Security." Besides being under the unified command of each zongdui in the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous region, PAP units are under the control of the respective public security organs in their prefecture, city, and county.

Besides the "zongdui" set up in each province, municipality, and autonomous region, various specialized zongdui of the PAP have been set up. There are PAP forest zongdui in Harbin City of Heilongjiang Province, Changchun City of Jilin Province, and Hohhot City of Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. In Peiping Municipality, Shanghai Municipality, Anhui Province, and Guangxi Autonomous Region, there are Tianshangqiao PAP Hydropower No 1 Zongdui. In Jiangxi Province, there is the Wan'an PAP Hydropower No 2 Zongdui. In Qinghai Province, there is the Golmud PAP Traffic No 1 Zongdui. In the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, there is the Usu PAP Traffic No 2 Zongdui. In Heilongjiang Province there is the Acheng PAP Gold No 1 Zongdui, and in Shandong Province there is the Xuecheng PAP Gold No 3 Zongdui. These specialized zongdui are under the command of the Fire Control Bureau of "PAP Headquarters" and the directly subordinate hydropower, traffic, and gold command departments of the headquarters.

### B. Missions and Guard Duties

PAP units are the police in the military service system. They enforce the communist army's rules and regulations, and their remuneration and material



benefits are the same as those of the communist army. In peacetime they safeguard the Chinese communists' leadership organizations, important targets, and public order; in wartime they are responsible for local operational missions. The principal missions of the PAP, as stipulated by the Chinese communists, are summed up separately as follows:

1. Peacetime Missions

- a. To safeguard the totalitarian rule and to guard party and government organizations, factories and mines, enterprises, railways, warehouses, as well as bridges and culverts in various places.
- b. To suppress anticommunist resistance activities, to care for and escort people and criminals, and to check various sabotage activities.
- c. To stand sentry at ports and airfields, to keep watch on passenger aircraft and ships, to inspect passes, and to prevent and crack down on smuggling activities.
- d. To patrol and stand sentry on borders and streets, and to tour and inspect sea and coastal areas.
- e. To stop beatings, destruction, and lootings; and to pursue and capture, intercept and attack, encircle and suppress criminals and stowaways who are fleeing the country.
- f. To guard foreign embassies and consulates in communist China, as well as to protect the safety of important units and targets.

In line with the special environments of the places where they are stationed, the PAP zongdui have different missions, as illustrated by the following examples:

- a. Missions of the Tianjin Municipality zongdui: to safeguard organizations, make public security patrols, detain accused people in prison, and stand sentry at ports and airfields.
- b. Missions of the Shanghai Municipality Zongdui: to maintain internal security, protect public order, and crack down on criminal activities.
- c. Missions of the Fujian Provincial Zongdui: to safeguard border defense, battle enemies, protect public order, crack down on smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods, and control and put out fires.
- d. Missions of the Guangdong Provincial Zongdui: It is charged with the missions of protecting the security of more than 4,300 kilometers of coastline and of inspecting and managing more than 20 ports that have been opened to the outside world. It is also charged with the mission of looking after, guarding, escorting, and controlling and extinguishing fires.

## 2. Wartime Operational Missions

Although the main missions of PAP units are "internal security" and the safeguarding of local public order, because their system of organization and their training are the same as those of the communist army, they have become an armed special force that combines peacetime and wartime functions. Therefore, in wartime a PAP unit can be reorganized as a local unit in a military region that coordinates with the communist army's operations. For example, during the Chinese communists' armed conflict on its border with Vietnam, PAP units stationed in the border areas of Guangxi and Yunnan coordinated and supported the operations of the communist army's "border defense units," and they were charged with the missions of daytime sentry duty, nighttime concealment at separated points, and the monitoring of the enemy's movements. On the Laoshan frontline in Yunnan, the Tianbao Border Defense Checkpoint of the PAP formed stretcher teams that were responsible for transporting ammunition, field rations, and wounded soldiers for the communist army.

## 3. Guard Duties

### a. Border Defense Checks

The border defense checks by PAP units are fairly tight, but in recent years, to meet the needs of the "open-door policy," the Chinese communists have had no choice but to adopt some measures for "relaxation and relief," and the procedures for border defense checks have been simplified. At present, the Chinese communists' border defense check procedures for the entry or exit of travelers at ports are as follows: (Footnote 2) (XINHUA Radio, Peiping broadcast, 24 Jan 85) 1) At the fairly many ports for the entry or exit of travelers, the border defense checkpoints have merged several procedures such as the tests and verifications and the affixing of stamps into one procedure. Travelers no longer need to go back and forth to several contingents in the test and verification office to be checked. 2) The procedure whereby a traveler had to fill out two "exit/entry registration cards" has been changed to filling out a two-page duplicate-style card, thereby shortening the time for the test and release operation. 3) For Hong Kong and Macao nationals and foreign businessmen who pass through the Gongbei and Shenzhen border defense checkpoints to go to and return from special economic zones on trading activities, there is a special passage that opens and shuts to give them priority in travelling. 4) For the entry and exit of large tourist groups, the past procedure in which people were checked one by one has been changed to a procedure in which greeting or seeing-off personnel hand over the necessary documents to the border defense checkpoint for centralized handling. 5) For trade with Hong Kong and Macao in the transportation and sale of trade products such as aquatic products, poultry and eggs, and vegetables, border defense checkpoints in Guangdong, Fujian, and Zhejiang provinces send guard personnel to the places where the shipments start to handle the shipping exit procedures.

## b. Safeguarding Local Public Order

In recent years, following the implementation of the "open-door policy" by the Chinese communists, in some large cities on the mainland, like Peiping, Tianjin, and Shanghai, the situation with respect to violation of discipline and law has been extremely serious. In May 1985, the "public order survey report conference," held in Peiping by the Chinese communists, pointed out that the degree to which public order has taken a turn for the better in various places on the mainland is uneven. In general, although the number of ordinary criminal cases has fallen, the number of major criminal cases has not yet markedly decreased, and also the proportion of newly occurring cases is getting bigger and bigger. Gangs of hooligans who run amuck and gangs of criminals are constantly multiplying, and their criminal behavior includes hijacking aircraft and ships, stealing guns, blowing up and sabotaging, murdering and raping, stealing and robbing, and other serious crimes. Focusing on the daily worsening situation in public order on the mainland, the Chinese communists have demanded that PAP units and public security organs deploy on the first line, demarcate sectors, make responsibilities clear, conduct special patrols in combination with the masses for joint defense, implement the policy of "seriously and quickly catching the whole gang in a dragnet," and strictly defend against the rash commission of crimes. At the appropriate times they are to suppress the multiplying of new criminal groups. With regard to crimes of a serious nature or vile circumstances, besides organizing the masses to handle them in the form of public "trials," they are to adopt the measure of on-the-spot public executions with the intent of producing an awe-inspiring effect.

## III. Training and Equipment of PAP Units

### A. Widespread Establishment of PAP Colleges and Schools

The Chinese communists have now established 3 directly subordinate colleges and schools, 23 primary command schools, as well as 1 each "special police school," "medical school," "ship school," "gold technical school," and "hydropower technical school." (Footnote 3) (LIAOWANG August 1985)

For the training of PAP cadres, there is the integrated education of "higher command colleges, technical colleges, professional training colleges, and primary command schools." As of now, the known colleges and schools that have been set up are the "People's Armed Police College" in Langfang, Hebei; the "People's Armed Police Technical College" in Xian; the "People's Armed Police Professional Training School" in Xiaxian, Shanxi; and the "Special Police School" in Peiping. Also, 20 "people's armed police command schools" have been set up in Shijiazhuang and other places. There are also the "People's Armed Police Medical School" in Hefei and the "People's Armed Police Surface Ship School" in Zhenhai, Zhejiang. In addition, there are "PAP gold technical schools" and "PAP hydropower technical schools" in certain places. The nature and general situation of the various types of schools and colleges that have been discovered are discussed separately below:

1. The "People's Armed Police College," situated in Langfang City, Hebei Province, is a higher command college that trains mid- and high-level PAP cadres. The main objects of its enrollment are PAP battalion- and regiment-level cadres. Its length of schooling is 2 to 3 years, and it offers 5 specialities: internal security, politics, border control, border defense checks, and fire control. Upon graduation a college diploma is awarded.

2. The "People's Armed Police Technical College," situated in Xian City, Shaanxi Province, makes training in science and engineering primary. It has five departments--photoelectricity, fire control projects, machinery, foreign languages, and logistics--that offer specialized courses in communications and electronic monitoring, foreign languages, and logistics management of a comprehensive university nature. It enrolls recently graduated local senior middle school students or PAP cadres and enlisted men. The period of schooling is divided into 2-, 3-, and 4-year periods. Upon graduation either a polytechnic school diploma or a college diploma is awarded.

3. The "People's Armed Police Professional Training School" began to enroll students in 1981. It is a specialized school that trains PAP primary command cadres. The period of schooling is 3 years. It offers three specialities: border defense, internal security, and fire control. The school has now elevated its enrollment level, enrolling PAP cadres at the battalion level and below.

4. "PAP command schools" train PAP primary command cadres. A total of 23 of these schools has been set up, of which 21 have been discovered, namely, in Xining, Shijiazhuang, Nanchang, Hefei, Chengdu, Harbin, Shanghai, Hanzhou, Hohhot, Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Peiping, Changsha, Lanzhou, Urumqi, Xian, Zhengzhou, Taiyuan, Shenyang, and Nanning. They enroll recently graduated students of local senior middle schools, or PAP enlisted men who possess a senior middle school education or its equivalent and full or deputy squad leaders. The period of schooling is 2 years. In accordance with the requirements of the actual situation in various areas, they offer the specialities of internal security, border defense, fire control, and logistics. Upon graduation a polytechnic school certificate is awarded. In principle, the zongdui of each province, municipality, and autonomous region should separately set up a "PAP command school." Zongdui that have not yet set up a school, such as those of Ningxia and Xizang, will temporarily have the training done in nearby PAP schools or set up their own "coaching dadui" to train cadres.

5. The "Special Police School," located in Peiping, was set up by merging bases in various places that trained backbone elements in special operations. Its main mission is to train special operations talents, so as to strengthen the security protection for important foreign honored guests and to provide mobile guards for various kinds of celebrations. Its special feature is to be "both a unit and a school, combining learning and fighting in one organic whole," and it puts into practice trial-training systems. It offers three specialized topics. Besides having to study enemy-capturing skills, marksmanship, driving, and counterterrorist tactics, the students at all times are prepared to do work in the field.

6. The "PAP Medical School," situated in Hefei City, Anhui Province, is a nursing school. The period of schooling is 2 years. It offers practitioner and nurse specialities. It trains nursing talents with secondary medical school education.

7. The "PAP Surface Ship School," situated at Zhenhai in Zhejiang Province, is a specialized school that trains command cadres and technical talents for PAP surface ships. It enrolls enlisted men of sea patrol dadui in Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, and Guangxi. It offers ship specialities.

8. The "PAP Gold Technical School" is a school that trains PAP gold cadres and technical talents. The main objects of its enrollment are the full and deputy squad leaders and the enlisted men of the PAP gold zongdui.

9. The "PAP Water Surface Technical School" is a school that trains PAP hydropower cadres and technical talents. The objects of its enrollment are the full and deputy squad leaders and the enlisted men of the PAP hydropower zongdui.

#### B. Expansion of Enrollment by Colleges and Schools

To improve the quality of PAP personnel and to cultivate specialized talents, the Chinese communists have called on PAP colleges and schools at all levels, in line with actual need, to do enrollment work every year, and they have made the following stipulations for them:

1. All public order protection units should plan to train "outstanding" full and deputy squad leaders who have been in their posts for one-half year or more and enlisted men of sea patrol and fire control units whose years of active service are fairly long. The age requirements for entrance examinations may be extended by 1 year.

2. For persons who have been assessed as "models" by the PAP Headquarters and higher, or who have been honored with citations for meritorious service, first or second class, who have a senior middle school education or its equivalent, and who meet the age requirement for taking the entrance examination, the score necessary for enrollment may be appropriately lowered.

3. The primary command schools of zongdui stationed in minority nationality areas should set up "nationality classes" and enroll enlisted men of minority nationalities.

4. PAP zongdui, like those of Xizang and Ningxia, which have not yet set up schools, are to have primary command schools of nearby PAP units train students for them.

5. PAP colleges and schools at all levels must, based on the specialities and technical talents needed by PAP units, enroll cadres and enlisted men of the units and train them.

6. The numerical proportion of cadres and enlisted men of PAP units who take the entrance examination and are enrolled should be respectively 2 to 1.

7. The PAP colleges and schools that did enrollment work in 1986 include: 3 high-level colleges and schools--"People's Armed Police College," "People's Armed Police Technical College," and "People's Armed Police Professional Training School"; 5 middle-level specialized technical schools--"People's Armed Police Medical School," "People's Armed Police Surface Ship School," "Special Police School," "People's Armed Police Gold School," and "People's Armed Police Hydropower Technical School"; and 21 primary command schools of the zongdui. It is estimated that a little over 8,000 students will be enrolled. The examination subjects were politics, Chinese, mathematics, physics, and chemistry. The main objects of enrollment were: (Footnote 4) (RENMIN WU JING BAO 7 May 86)

1. In the "People's Armed Police College," the internal security and political departments enroll battalion- and regiment-level cadres, and the border defense department enrolls cadres of specialized battalions and below or some regiment-post cadres.

2. In the "People's Armed Police Technical College," the fire control and management department enrolls cadres at the battalion level and below, and the communications speciality of the photoelectricity department enrolls full and deputy squad leaders and enlisted men who have been on active service for 1 year or more. The proportion of women students does not exceed 20 percent.

3. The "People's Armed Police Professional Training School" enrolls company and platoon cadres.

4. In the "People's Armed Police Medical School," the practitioner speciality enrolls medics who have been in their present posts for 1 year or more, and the nursing speciality enrolls medics.

5. The "People's Armed Police Surface Ship School" enrolls company and platoon cadres and enlisted men of sea patrol units and other units that have ships.

6. The "Special Police School" enrolls full and deputy squad leaders and enlisted men who have been on active duty for 1 year or more.

7. The "People's Armed Police Gold Technical School" and the "People's Armed Police Hydropower Technical School" enroll full and deputy squad leaders and enlisted men in their respective units.

8. The internal security, border defense, and fire control specialities in the command schools of all zongdui enroll full and deputy squad leaders and enlisted men with 1 or more years of active service who possess a senior middle school education; and they also enroll some just graduated students of local senior middle schools. The proportion of full and deputy squad leaders who take the entrance examination is to be no lower than 50 percent, and the proportion of women students enrolled in the border defense speciality is not to exceed 20 percent.



### C. Education on Law and Discipline

In recent years, following the implementation of the "open-door" policy, by the Chinese communists when carrying out their missions the PAP units have frequently violated law and discipline. Therefore, the Chinese communists have given education on law and discipline to cadres and enlisted men in the PAP, in which they study the application of legal knowledge in handling various complex, small, and multitudinous problems in society. The situation in strengthening education on law and discipline is as follows:

1. The "PAP Headquarters" and "Beijing University" held a "joint building and joint education work conference in Wuhan, Hubei. During the conference, it was specified that between "Beijing University" and the PAP units there would be "provisional regulations for conducting university law correspondence education in the units." For the first term of the correspondence school education in law, the conference drew up the enrollment plan, teaching plan, teaching content, teaching methods, as well as issues pertaining to the organization and management of the education. (Footnote 5) (MING PAO Hong Kong 13 Jun 85) The main purpose of the conference was to enhance the education in "political science and law" of the PAP units and to improve the cadres' specialized knowledge.

2. The PAP zongdui in Qinghai Province offers "correspondence college classes in political science and law," in which 13 correspondence school courses, including civil law, international law, criminal law, political science and law, and introductory economics, are taught.

3. The Chinese communists' "PAP Headquarters" has adopted a policy of correcting new unhealthy tendencies and of demanding that the "People's Armed Police be strictly controlled" in order to enhance the concept of the legal system of the PAP cadres and to educate the basic-level cadres of the PAP units in the law, so that the PAP cadres will understand and enforce the law. (Footnote 6) (MING PAO, Hong Kong, 4 May 85)

### D. Military Training

To strengthen the military training of PAP units, the "PAP Headquarters," based on the units' reform, formulated the "Outline for People's Armed Police Training," which stresses that "it takes Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology, and takes the state's policies and other decrees as its working policy" in the various kinds of special training it gives the cadres and enlisted men of the units. At present, the training of the PAP units is either done by separate establishment and separate training or by mixed establishment but separate training, for recruits and veterans. For guard personnel and training personnel in the zhongdui, there is the system of "small changing of shifts" in which there is 1 change every 2 weeks, and for those personnel in the zhidui there is the "big rotation shift" system, in which there is 1 change every 3 months. The rotational training team of the zhidui handles military training work at all levels, and gives concentrated training to enlisted men with different number of years in service. The relevant training regulations are as follows:



1. The rotational training team in the zhidui, at separate training levels, adopts the system of 3 terms a year, with 1 training period being 3 years. The first term is for training recruits, the second for training 2-year enlisted men, and the third for training enlisted men with 3 or more years of active service. For every 3-month term there are 60 training days, and every enlisted man has a 180-day training period during which he needs to complete all training courses.

2. Besides the personnel being trained, the zhongdui in peacetime must maintain two-thirds of the enlisted men for service duties.

3. For the rotational training teams, cadres who have been educated and trained in the units' colleges and schools are selected in order to improve the quality of the teaching backbone contingent.

4. To resolve the inadequacies of training funds, sites, and teaching materials, the zhidui is made responsible for the training funds, the overall planning and arrangements, the concentrated use, and the improvement of the effectiveness of training work.

The peacetime military training of the PAP units include training in technical, tactical, and service occupations. The technical training emphasizes shooting and capturing enemies; the tactical training emphasizes tactics at the squad level and below of capturing and annihilating enemies; and the service training emphasizes education in legal knowledge and study of internal service regulations. (Footnote 7) (JIEFANGJUN BAO 6 Feb 85) The relevant military training activities and content are as follows:

#### 1. Training Activities

The PAP units have held in Heilongjiang, Zhejiang, Shaanxi, Anhui, Henan, Guangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Gansu, and Tianjin "military occupation training competitions" and "military sports needs." The competitive events include marksmanship, grenade throwing, boxing, 5-kilometer cross-country races in full battle gear, machine operations, and enemy-capturing skills. Also, "military occupation training report-back" performances have been held in Shanghai, Nanjing, Waizhou, Wuhan, Peiping, and Guangzhou, of which the performance held in Peiping was on the largest scale.

#### 2. Special Training by Local Zongdui

The Fujian Provincial PAP units have held at the Fuzhou Airfield an antiskyjacking exercise and a fire-control, antisabotage troop-training competition. The Jiangxi Provincial PAP units have trained in night attacks combat readiness, blocking and checking, surrounding and intercepting, and capturing; they have also held safety check training at the "Xiangtang Airfield" to test reaction capability against skyjacking. The Zhejiang Provincial PAP Zongdui have held a counterforce exercise at "Hangzhou's Jianqiao Airfield." The exercise included counterattacking evildoers who have hijacked aviation or shipping traffic facilities at airfields or on ships, and countering/restricting evildoers who use force to cause casualties to personnel and damage to facilities. (Footnote 8) (Zhejiang Radio broadcast 4

May 86) The Jiangxi Provincial PAP Hangdui [5300 7130] has carried out flood season emergency training, which includes dropping anchor without a dock, forced shore landings, sea rescues, night navigation, and communications with lights. (Footnote 9) (Jiangxi Radio broadcast 11 Jul 86)

### 3. Special Training in Colleges and Schools

To enhance the training of students and to train special talents, colleges and schools at all levels of the PAP give various kinds of training to the students, the contents of which are:

- a. Basic Training: This is training to strengthen the students' physical condition and their endurance in bearing excess loads.
- b. Marksmanship: Students are trained in essentials and accuracy, and they are required to be able to fire in any position.
- c. Wrestling: Students are trained in wrestling skills and stamina.
- d. Driver Training: The students are trained in general basic driving essentials and in the driving skills for crossing obstacles, including driving around stakes forward and backward, making 180 degree turns at high speed forward and backward, and making a 360 degree turn driving forward. (Footnote 10) (Chinese Communist Television Station, broadcast 24 Jun 86)

### E. Principal Equipment

A PAP unit is lightly armed. To improve the weapons and equipment of the PAP units and to build them into "modernized, regularized armed units," it is required that "modernization" be the center, and that new monitoring, alarm, communication, and dispatching systems be developed for equipping them. (Footnote 11) (RENMIN RIBAO 17 Jan 85) The principal equipment of PAP units includes various types of pistols, semiautomatic rifles, submachineguns, squad machineguns, police radio-telephone sets, motorized vehicles, and other special equipment. The situation with respect to this equipment is as follows:

#### 1. Weapons

When patrolling the principal cities, they are provided with the Chinese-made three-seater "Changjiang 750" motor vehicle, and they carry the Chinese-made "56-1" submachinegun and a copy of the German "Walther" PPK 7.62mm Type 4 automatic pistol. When being inspected, the "PAP" men carry the "812" new-type automatic rifle. The rifle's tip is fitted with a launcher that can launch many types of antitank rifle grenades. When "PAP" units are on guard duty in peacetime, they carry the 7.62mm Type 54 or Type 51 pistol, the Type 56 semiautomatic rifle, the Type 55 submachinegun, the Type 56 squad machinegun, the signal gun, and other conventional weapons.

In addition, PAP units in coastal areas are equipped with the "Shanghai-class" gunboat built by the Chinese communist "Navy's" shipyard. The gunboat's tail is fitted with a towed variable depth sonar detector. In peacetime the

gunboat is used for coastal defense patrols; in wartime it is used to intercept navigation routes. It can carry depth charges for antisubmarine warfare. PAP units are also equipped with a new-type complete lift-style air cushion patrol boat, which was developed by the "China Ocean Shipping Corporation." This patrol boat can move on water surfaces, shoals, mud, marshes, and grassland, and can cross a ditch more than a meter wide. In addition, the Chinese communists have set up in Guangzhou, in cooperation with the "(Orlando)" Helicopter Company of Hong Kong, a joint venture that produces an improved version of the "Sikorsky SS 55" helicopter to enhance the PAP units' capabilities for fire control and air transport.

## 2. Communication Equipment

PAP units in all principal cities are equipped with "radiophones" and "electric alarms." The Tai'an Zhidui of the Shandong Provincial PAP Zongdui has "photoelectric monitor alarms," "ground duty schematic display panels," and "night firing automatic flash display indicators." The Hunan Provincial PAP Zongdui has set up an "operations room," which applies electronic technology to the internal security guard duty management system. The area of this "operations room" is 107 sq m. It has eight major parts: computers, photographic projectors, videocorders, electric drawing boards, electric three-dimensional sandtable, light display emergency skyjack handling advance plan, wired and wireless communicator, and internal security staff specialized books and data.

## 3. Engineering Equipment

To meet the requirements for construction, the PAP Hydropower 1st Zongdui has installed the world's biggest full-section super "tunneler," which was imported from the MK Corporation of the United States. This machine weighs over 1,000 tons and has 2,400 horsepower. It is a fairly new type of engineering machine.

## F. Standard Uniforms System

PAP units are the police of the "military service law." There is a standard style for the uniforms of the internal security, border defense, and fire control PAP units. The color of the uniform is olive green, and it is made of a blend of wool-polyester and valitin. The man's uniform is taken from the Chinese tunic style. It has inverted "mountain-character" bright pocket flaps. The jacket has four pockets and an upright turndown collar. The woman's winter uniform is in the Lenin tunic style. The collar has a double row of buttons for a slanted hood (small collar). The woman's summer uniform is pea green with a cream-colored blouse, both long- and short-sleeved. Men and women both wear large-brimmed caps. In outward appearance the cap is saddle-shaped, high in the front and low in the back. On the cap's rim are two golden yellow serrated "salute lines." The jacket cuffs have two 7mm-wide golden yellow serrated "police insignia lines." In the middle of one police trouser leg is stitched a 2.5-mm-wide red serrated "symbolic line." On the jacket shoulders are golden yellow serrated soft epaulet "decorative lines." The police symbol on the shoulder is two crossed rifles and a blue shield. The fire-control PAP's police symbol is two crossed water guns and red flames.

As for the cap insignia, besides retaining the badge design, a light blue shield is added, as well as gold-colored Great Wall and pine branch figures.

#### IV. Existing Problems in PAP Units

Although there are a great number of personnel in the PAP units and they are distributed in every corner of the mainland, since they were formed, because management has not been strict and police bearing has not been in good order, there exist problems in morale, training, and discipline that adversely affect the promotion of the building of PAP units. They are separately discussed below:

##### A. Cadre Quality Is Inferior, Making Work Difficult

Most leading cadres of PAP units are cadres transferred to civilian employment who were eliminated through competition from the military. Their quality is poor and their morale low. The life of the men in the units is slack, and the work is careless and sloppy. In general, most cadres put their main energy on "setting up flower stands and writing superficial articles," putting the focus of their work on coping with the higher level's inspections. The stopover point of work is put on striving to get the higher-level's commendation. Only superficial work is pursued, and one's own problems are easily neglected. Some cadres even think that "if one's connections are not good, nothing can be gotten; if you offend the 'road deity' you won't get along well." There is the odd phenomenon in which "one's head is filled with ideas of using connections and one's body is attuned to connections," and there is indifference toward basic-level work. Although all PAP zongdui demand that their units at all places list basic-level work as a focus of efforts, all levels of leading cadres and organizations are still unable to go all out and get a good grip on basic-level work. As before, there exists the phenomenon in which the "zhongdui" takes a look, the dadui makes a turn, and the zhidui eats a meal." With regard to the basic level's requirements and requests for instruction, there is a lot of stalling and foot-dragging by saying "wait a while" and "it will be studied after the event," causing it to be difficult for a long time to solve the problems existing at the basic level and seriously affecting the attempts to raise the morale of the basic-level units.

##### B. There Are Serious Unhealthy Tendencies of Violating Law and Discipline

Although the Chinese communists demand that PAP units thoroughly implement rules and regulations, because the educational quality of basic-level cadres is inferior, their legal knowledge is deficient, and in addition they show partiality in executing policies and their management of discipline is slack, they cause in the units the major pernicious, unhealthy tendencies of using the power of office to seek private gain, bureaucracy, improper military occupational specialities, confusion in order, untidy wearing of uniforms, violations of discipline, fighting and brawling. For example, a leading cadre of the PAP 2d Zhongdui in Wenzhou City, making use of his work relations, made things convenient for a certain enlisted man, for which he received bribes from the latter. When giving military education and training, he even took the improper action of inflicting corporal punishment in disguised form on some enlisted men whose capability and physical strength to receive training

were fairly poor. (Footnote 12) (Wenzhou Radio Station broadcast 18 Sep 86) Also, for example, a unit of the 4th Zhidui in the PAP Gold Command Post in Acheng, Heilongjiang, there occurred in succession a number of incidents in which enlisted men went AWOL, became fugitives, went missing, and lost firearms. In the independent zhidui of the PAP Hydropower Command Post in Chengdu, there occurred an incident in which there was a fight with the local masses, who were injured by PAP enlisted men, causing serious dissatisfaction among the local masses. Again, for example, enlisted men of the 9th Zhongdui of the dadui under the PAP zongdui in Zhejiang set up stalls in the vicinity of where they were stationed to sell beverages. At intervals of over 10 meters, they set up vendor stalls, about 5 or 6 of them. Some of these PAP enlisted men who sold beverages carried their uniforms, some of them hung their uniforms on trees, and some of them, although wearing their uniforms, left off their collars, dangled cigarettes from their lips, and peddled beverages to passers-by, thereby seriously tarnishing the image of the PAP. (Footnote 13) (JIEFANGJUN BAO 2 Jul 86)

### C. Backward State of Military Education and Training

Because the guard duty missions of PAP units are numerous and complex, there are many posts, lines are long, areas are wide, and it is not easy to maintain command, it is impossible to provide solid military training and training and ideological education. The PAP units stationed in various places still lack an integrated system for military training. With regard to the training content and the methods and forms for organizing training, for basic-level cadres who are squad leaders or who are to be promoted to squad leader, there is also not yet a "regularized" training system. Especially since the quality of the majority of PAP unit cadres is inferior, no matter whether it is their capability to organize and teach or their own military quality, it is very difficult for them to meet the requirements for "modernization" and "standardization," thus seriously affecting the "four implementations" (personnel, time, content, and results) in military education and training. The following deficiencies now widely exist in the military education and training of PAP units:

1. Because the units stationed in various places must train while performing guard duty, it is hard to find the time for military education and training, a fact that adversely affects the attempt to improve the military quantity of the units' enlisted men.
2. For the PAP units there are many points, many lines, and wide areas, and the missions of each fendui are fairly numerous and complex. Because the units are dispersed, it is not easy to organize training, making it impossible to effectively attain the progress in training stipulated by the higher level.
3. The majority of PAP cadres have been in the service for only a short time, the teaching forces are weak, and it is impossible to improve the quality of the training.
4. In the units, recruits and veterans are mixed together in establishment and training. Year after year they receive basic training and circulate at a low level. (Footnote 14) (RENMIN WU JING BAO 9 Apr 85)



## V. Comprehensive Comment and Analysis

A. In recent years the Chinese communists have devoted themselves to the work of "economic reform," stressing "streamlining" and the reduction of "national defense fund" outlays, but they have greatly expanded the PAP units. Now, although these units are under the command of public security departments and are used in the work of safeguarding public security, in reality they comprise a military force hidden in the the Chinese communists' administrative departments that cannot be ignored. Also, since the Chinese communists set up the "PAP Headquarters" in 1983, although its funds outlay was switched to the public security system in order to reduce some outlays in the national defense budget. However, in reality there has not yet been a decrease in the communist army's total national defense budget. Therefore, there has not yet been any effect on the communist army's operational forces.

B. In May 1984, the Second Session of the Sixth "NPC" passed the "new military service law," which in particular make specific provisions on the question of building the reserve forces, and the PAP units were listed as one of the Chinese communists' "three big armed forces." Although the Chinese communists announced to the outside world that in the 2 years of 1985 and 1986 1 million military men would be cut and that the "border defense units" would be transferred to the PAP units, which in peacetime would be responsible for safeguarding local public order and in wartime would be switched to being local armed forces, achieving a "shift in quantity," obviously the main intent of the "cut" of one million was to confuse international public opinion in order to achieve its aim of getting a united front for peace.

C. Since the PAP units were established, there has been the serious situation in which the cadres tend to be old and their educational level tends to be low. Although the Chinese communists have taken as many remedial measures as possible in the education and training of PAP units to shorten their education time and to make their studies lenient, they have stipulated that any cadre who goes into a leading group at any level must have a senior middle school education or higher, so as to comply with the policy of "making the average age younger" and to make up the deficiencies in education and training. However, because of the difficulty in training the cadres of PAP units and the lack of an integrated, effective educational system, the quality of the cadres has been seriously weakened.

D. Among the PAP units' basic-level cadres there exists a widespread unclear understanding of the "law." Some cadres are used to managing enlisted men through use of administrative orders, and they lack the concept of "ruling the police by law." In work they neglect legal restraints, and the phenomena of "using the power of office to seek private gain" and "substituting work for laws" occur frequently. Although the Chinese communists have vigorously strengthened the work of managing and training PAP units, they plan within 2 years' time to make general knowledge of the law universal in PAP units in order to improve the legal quality of the cadres. So, based on the Chinese communists' own admission, only 0.2 percent of the cadres in PAP units have received training in the law. It will be extremely difficult to complete the general education in the law of PAP units within a short period of time.

E. In the PAP units there still exist the unhealthy tendencies of basic-level cadres getting older and being of low quality; and of the enlisted men being too young and having a low educational level, having a short work time, lacking regular military training, having low morale, and violating law and discipline. Therefore, it is very difficult to say whether Hu Yaobang will be able to rely on the PAP units to fulfill his succession plan.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

UNMANNED NUCLEAR BLAST RECONNAISSANCE--China's first airborne color television image transmission system has been successfully developed in Nanjing and was nationally certified a few days ago. After unmanned aircraft replaced piloted planes for passing through the mushroom cloud of a nuclear blast to collect samples, there arose a critical need to develop "eyes" for the unmanned craft and to ensure success on the first pass. The airborne color television image transmission system developed jointly by the Nanjing Aviation College and a certain unit of the Nanjing Military Region Air Force has solved the problem of pilotless craft accurately transmitting the conditions of a nuclear blast from long distances and allows the ground command to immediately observe the expansion and direction of a mushroom cloud and to accurately direct the pilotless craft in collecting samples. This achievement also has broad applications in military reconnaissance, solving cases of public security, emergency rescue, and other scientific work. [Text] [Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jan 87 p 1]

NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPER--He Xianjue [6320 0341 6030], engineer at a certain base of the Second Artillery Corps and outstanding Communist Party member, was born into a farming household. After graduating from college in 1964, he was determined to help national defense construction and made important contributions to the development, testing, and management of China's nuclear weapons. In 1965 he took part in the design and production of two important components of China's first aerial atomic bomb; in 1966 he played an important role in our first guided missile tests by designing and producing two precision devices; in 1967 he helped develop two key components selected to be used in our first hydrogen bomb. Afterwards, he led a reform working group for 10 years in automating the management of China's first nuclear weapons depot. He is a pioneer who has devoted himself to national defense. [photo, p 19 bottom] The nuclear weapons depot humidity and temperature sensing apparatus developed by He Xianjue and his fellow soldiers attained national advanced levels. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 p 19]

ARTILLERY CALIBRATION DEVICE DEVELOPED--A "radar electro-optic alignment calibration device" which combines electro-optic alignment for artillery laying with auxiliary equipment for inspecting conditions, has been certified in Xi'an. This project is the result of 2 years of hard labor and close cooperation on the part of the Lanzhou Military Region's military representative office stationed at a certain research institute and the concerned members of this research institute. This calibration device is compact, highly accurate, and suitable for use under field conditions. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 8 Jan 87 p 2]

NANJING UNITS COMMENDED--On 11 January, the Nanjing Garrison Command commended units with outstanding records in military appearance and discipline, including the Nanjing MR Air Force, engineer units directly subordinate to the Nanjing MR, Army Command College, Naval Command College, Nanjing Artillery College, Naval Medical Training School, Unit 83544, and the People's Armed Police Jiangsu Zongdui. [Excerpt] [Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 87 p 4]

GROUP ARMY UTILIZES INTELLECTUALS--Military barracks are a great place for intellectuals to produce outstanding achievements. Xu Yueyuan [6079 6460 0337], Cadre Office director of a certain group army in the Shenyang Military Region, announced some figures on 24 December: Of the university students who came to this unit in the 1960's and 70's, 23 have played a key role in unit building, and of these, 20 have assumed leadership positions at the division and regimental levels. In recent years, following the emphasis on troop modernization and building, all levels of this unit have developed policies to better make use of intellectuals and have sent 19 individuals to all types of military institutes of learning for advanced study. Zhang Shixian [1728 0013 7359], political commissar of a certain division, graduated from the Chengdu Telecommunications Engineering College and has made prominent achievements. [Excerpts] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 p 1]

ANHUI MILITIA TRAINING BASES--For the past few years, all levels of people's armed forces departments in Anhui Province have thoroughly carried out higher level directives to step up the construction of militia training bases. They established in succession 66 training bases for counties and cities, accounting for 80 percent of the number to be built. There are an additional 14 county and city bases in planning which are projected to be completed before the end of 1987. The bases already built are equipped with necessary living, teaching, and training facilities, and are generally able to accommodate 200 to 800 people. Bases in the entire province can now accommodate a total of 18,000 people at one time. This creates conditions for militia training to gradually become more base-oriented, professional, and regularized. Bases are equipped with guest houses and factories, and are developing agriculture and animal husbandry as short cuts to improved economic conditions, thus lessening the burden on the masses. [Text] [Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 86 p 4]

ZHEJIANG MD LEADERS ATTEND MEETING--The expanded CPC committee conference of the Zhejiang Military District which concluded yesterday called for CPC committees at all levels to uphold the four cardinal principles, promote the excellent tradition of arduous struggle, unite and advance, and raise the work in military district units and the militia and reserves to new levels. Military District CPC Deputy Secretary and Commander Li Qing gave a work report and CPC Secretary and Political Commissar Liu Xinzeng summarized the conference. Also in attendance were comrades Yang Shijie [2799 1102 2638], Wang Wenhui [3769 2429 1920], Shi Lei [4258 4320], Wu Hongge [2976 3163 7041], Li Mianshan [2621 4875 0810], Yao Chao, Yan Baofu, Guo Lianjie [6753 6647 2212], Zhang Feng [1728 2800], and Ma Jiliang [7456 7535 5328]. [Excerpts] [Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 87 p 1]

ZHEJIANG GROUP ARMY CULTIVATES DUAL TALENTS--PLA units stationed in Zhejiang and the People's Armed Police Zhejiang Zongdui have had gratifying results in

cultivating dual-purpose talents. With the aid of the Hangzhou Main Refrigerator Plant, a certain group army stationed in Zhejiang started a "base for training talent." More than 290 soldiers and cadres are studying 12 types of technology. Many soldiers who take this training play an important role in modernization efforts upon leaving the military and returning to their locales. [Excerpts] [Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 p 2]

SICHUAN CADRES GO TO GRASSROOTS--According to knowledgeable departments, the first group of 148 cadres going down to work at the company level from the Chengdu Military Region and its subordinate organizations last year were sent to the front lines of the Yunnan and Xizang border defenses to perform the duties of deputy company commanders and deputy political instructors. They worked with their companies for 3 months. [Text] [Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jan 87 p 1]

ASIANDEX PHOTO CAPTIONS--[p 2 top] "M-Family" surface-to-surface ballistic tactical missile is primarily used to destroy main enemy targets. [p 2 bottom] One view of Asiandex. [p 3 top] The "C801" multipurpose anti-ship missile can be fired from surface ships, submarines, land, and aircraft. [p 3 bottom] "China diver" is a one-man pressurized submersible apparatus. Wearing it, anyone can work at a depth of 300 meters. [p 4 top] CZ-2 and CZ-3 rockets, and the communications satellite launched by China on display in the exhibition hall. [p 5 top] Model of the Type-69-II main battle tank. [p 5 center] A model of the new missile escort now in its shakedown cruises. [p 5 bottom] Missile designed and produced by China with its launch vehicle. [Text of photo captions] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 pp 2-5]

AIR FORCE TRAINING SIMULATION--[p 10 left] A pilot diligently operates the flight simulator with its computer-generated images. [p 10 center] A JJ-5 spiral, special skills, and firing spherical flight simulator. [p 10 right] "Red Army's" paratrooper is struck and emits colored smoke. [p 11 bottom left] A "Red Army" helicopter gunship attacks a "Blue Army" missile position. [p 11 bottom right] "Blue Army's" anti-aircraft artillery fire at "Red Army's" attack planes. [Text of photo captions] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 pp 10-11]

SATELLITE, MISSILE TRACKING AND CONTROL OFFICE--The Trajectory Office of the National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission's Aerospace Tracking and Command Center is a collective with the responsibility for the research, design, production, and use of software needed by the satellite and missile ground tracking and control network. They set satellite trajectories, determine satellite attitudes, and control satellite movement, and have been acclaimed as crack troops who have paved a way to the stars. The office's party branch emphasizes political work, strengthens ideological leadership, and makes full use of the positive outlook and creativity of its technical personnel to complete all research and satellite tracking and control missions. It has made important contributions to launching China's first artificial satellite, recovering scientific sensing satellites, and fixing the location of communications broadcast satellites. It has successively received 1st, 2d, and 3d class collective merit citations, and won prizes for 63 scientific achievements. [Photo captions] [p 18 top] A satellite is recovered. [p 18 bottom] Technical personnel in the midst of tracking and calculating satellite boost parameters. [p 19 from top] 1. The Trajectory Office CPC branch is a vigorous and progressive advanced collective. 2.

Technical personnel go over satellite flight data together. 3. CPC branch member Qi Siyu [4359 1835 4416] has a deep understanding of his work and has an outstanding record. He was given the title "Advanced S&T Worker" by the NDSTIC. 4. CPC branch member and Deputy Director Li Jisheng [2621 3444 3932] (front), has achieved many research results and was awarded a 1st class merit citation. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 pp 18-19]

BLACK HAWKS USED IN XIZANG RELIEF--[p 42 top left] Dadui deputy commander Guo Pengren [0948 5570 0088] encountered numerous dangerous situations while carrying out the mission to aid Xizang and relieve disaster areas, all of which were overcome by his exceptional skill. [p 42 top right] The flight crews for the rescue work were composed of Tibetan, Yi, and Han nationalities who worked together as one, and stubbornly fought for many successes. [p 42 bottom left] In the vast primeval forest the strong shape of a helicopter appears for the first time ever. [p 42 bottom right] Using the aerial bridge provided by the helicopters, there is a flow of material goods from the outside world into the "isolated island" of the high plateau, Motuo. [p 43 top] Tibetan, Menba, and Luoba nationalities present hadas to guests from afar. [p 43 center] The brave aircraft flying over snowy mountains at 6,300 meters above sea level. [p 43 bottom left] A ground controller climbs the "control tower" built in the primeval forest to ensure flight safety. [p 43 bottom right] The pilots worked more than 10 hours to alleviate the danger to the people in the disaster area as quickly as possible. Eating outside makes everything taste especially good. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 pp 42-43]

MILITARY TRAINING RECOMMENDED FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS--An article in Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese on 30 Jan 87 p 2 reports that more than 70,000 students from 69 institutions of higher education completed at least 2 months of military training in 1986. At a conference held on 20 December 1986 in Beijing, university and military training officials praised the students' performance. The attendees at the conference agreed that the program should be extended to all institutions of higher education. It was recommended at the conference that more coordination between universities and the military be sought and that more students be enrolled in the training program, which should be carried out both on campuses and at military installations. It was also recommended that a training center or base for college students be set up in the future. [Editorial Report]

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